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"The aim of the Special Initiative is to add momentum to Africa's development at this time when prospects for economic recovery are greater than ever."
Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali

New UN push for African development

Abundant in promise yet drained by emergencies, Africa today stands at a decisive juncture in its history. Its prospects for economic recovery are better than they have been in years. Enabling environments of accountability and better governance are being created in individual countries. Growth rates are picking up. Conditions for investment and production are improving rapidly for local and foreign entrepreneurs. All of these are positive indicators for accelerating international development efforts.

Aspiring to build on this enormous potential, the United Nations on 15 March launched a historic 10-year, $25 billion System-wide Special Initiative on Africa. It is designed to seize this pivotal opportunity and put the drive back into African development by helping to provide better education, health care and employment opportunities.

Above all, the Special Initiative is a message of support and hope for upcoming generations. As Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared at the launching, "It is also a message meant for all Africans. Because we want, today, to make a solemn commitment to Africa that it is not alone, that it has not been abandoned, that now more than ever it is under the watchful eyes of the world!"

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UN Photo 191757/Evan Schneider

Excerpts from statements by United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali

To the Rio Branco Institute, Brasilia, Brazil, 29 February:

The cause of democracy has found a home in the United Nations. A new international consensus has been created. Broad support has been mobilized. Advocates of democracy have used the high political visibility of the United Nations to gain commitments and win wider support. The impact has been felt on the ground, not just in theory.

In January 1992, shortly after I became Secretary-General, the United Nations Electoral Assistance Division was established. To date, the United Nations has provided electoral assistance to over 60 countries worldwide. Starting with education about elections, the United Nations role has also included logistics, observations and verification of elections. In some countries the entire organization and operation of the elections has been a United Nations responsibility.

But holding elections is often only the beginning of democratization. In the past, countries willing to support elections were reluctant to go further. But the United Nations has served as a forum for consensus on the need to create a culture of democracy. Today, the United Nations supports democratization through drafting constitutions, strengthening human rights laws, enhancing judicial structures, and helping armed opposition movements transform themselves into political parties.

To the French Institute of International Relations, Paris, 21 March

I know that it is not customary to speak about oneself in public. But I am none the less going to make a confession to you: it is not always easy to be Secretary-General of the United Nations. For the Charter of San Francisco has created a very singular post for its occupant.

If you are too cautious, the Member States begin to whisper and to ask each other whether they have made a wise choice. Conversely, if you engage in a diplomacy that is too active, they are quick to remind you that you are merely the humble servant of an organization consisting of sovereign States.

The States want you to be both self-effacing yet enterprising, quiet yet dynamic, disciplined yet to have imagination. As you see, that is quite a challenge for anyone to attempt to deal on a continuing basis with such contradictions. Particularly since there are, in addition, the contradictions of the present-day world and those of the world Organization.

Upon receiving a doctorate *honoris causa* from the University of Bordeaux, France, 22 March

States are today well aware that the major problems facing mankind are essentially transnational problems.

Environmental protection, population control, AIDS, regulation of international migration, combating transnational crime, the human settlements of tomorrow; it is today quite obvious that these are global issues and individual nation-States have only a very limited influence on them.

The globalization of the economy should therefore be accompanied by a movement for the globalization of democracy.

The United Nations now wishes to become part of this new stage of democratization by encouraging the new international actors to participate in bringing about a global democratic society.

Today, commercial enterprises and financial institutions wield a great deal of power at the global level. It is therefore essential to include transnational enterprises in the development of the law of global society, so that they appear not as predators seeking to take advantage of gaps in the international social order, but as agents of development and important factors for social integration.

To the United Nations Association of China, Beijing, 26 March

In the United Nations, Member States have a unique set of mechanisms for preventing conflict. Preventive diplomacy, conducted early in a dispute, can ease tensions and resolve problems before they erupt in war. Its techniques—from confidence-building measures to fact-finding, from early warning to preventive deployment—were analyzed in "An Agenda for Peace", my 1992 report written at the request of the first-ever meeting of the Security Council at the level of heads of State. Since then, preventive diplomacy has increasingly been recognized as a distinctive and essential field of endeavour.

The United Nations can be most effective in the quiet practice of preventive diplomacy. As an impartial body, with a global mandate, and without the need to publicize its role, the United Nations can achieve a great deal behind the scenes. The United Nations can help parties settle their differences before their confrontation becomes public. Resolving an issue early and privately can be the key to preventing bloodshed.

Upon receiving an honorary doctorate from Koryo University, Seoul, Republic of Korea, 1 April

Today, we stand at a turning point. Progress is not inevitable. Nations must decide. The world can return to balance-of-power politics and repeated confrontation—or it can choose to carry on with the great modern project of international cooperative interaction.

The correct choice should be clear. Without international cooperation, the world will become a more dangerous place. A world of arms races, of unilateral interventions. Of security barriers between peoples, raising suspicions and tensions. A world marked by terror and threat.

So yes, the choice is—or should be—clear. The United Nations can be the focus of international cooperation for peace and security. But the United Nations is the instrument of its Member States. To the extent that Member States cooperate in making the United Nations an instrument of international conciliation and international security, the world will be a far more stable and secure place.

At a luncheon given by the United Nations Association of Japan, Tokyo, 4 April:

With the fiftieth anniversary year, United Nations efforts have gained new momentum. But there is a danger that this momentum will be lost. A financial crisis has set the United Nations on the brink of bankruptcy. Unpaid assessments now exceed $3 billion.

Serious reform efforts are under way. The Organization has cut expenses. We have streamlined operations and eliminated posts. We are working to reduce waste, duplication and overlap. But as long as the crisis persists, other efforts to reform, cut back and restructure cannot succeed, and the future of the Organization itself is in danger.

This is my number one priority. I am doing all that I can to help resolve the question of payment of arrears so that the United Nations can survive in the short term. In the meantime, I appeal to you as friends of the United Nations, as public-minded citizens, to assist me in this effort. I ask you to speak out in support of settling arrears, and of paying future contributions on time, and in full.

From a lecture on the occasion of the inauguration of the Ralph Bunche Center at Howard University, Washington, D.C., 11 April

The ancient Romans said that a statesman should be *suaviter in modo; fortiter in re*: soft in manner; strong in action. Ralph Bunche had these qualities, but, in addition, he had other essential qualities needed by a peacemaker. He was completely honest and straightforward. He totally mastered the details of the problem. He tirelessly endeavoured to find a solution. And he relentlessly followed up to solidify what he had achieved. Few statesmen ever worked harder than Ralph Bunche. ■

The United Nations System-wide Special Initiative on Africa:

Ten-year, $25-billion drive for development

UN Photo 191763/Evan Schneider

At the press briefing for the launching of the Special Initiative on Africa, at Headquarters on 15 March 1996 (*from left to right*): Samir Sanbar, Assistant Secretary-General for Public Information; Carol Bellamy, Executive Director of the UN Children's Fund; James Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank; James Gustave Speth, Administrator of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and Co-Chairman of the Initiative's Steering Committee; Nafis Sadik, Executive Director of the UN Population Fund; Prabhakar Narvekar, Deputy Managing Director, International Monetary Fund; and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, UNDP Assistant Administrator.

Africa is at a critical point in its history—full of renewed promise but beleaguered by economic and social emergencies that continue to drain precious resources. Recognizing this challenge of global development, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 15 March launched a ten-year, $25-billion UN System-wide Special Initiative on Africa.

A multi-billion dollar programme of concrete actions designed to accelerate African development, the Special Initiative aims over the next decade to greatly expand basic education and health care, promote peace and better governance, and improve water and food security.

The UN system's most significant mobilization of support ever for the development of a continent's people and its largest coordinated action, the Special Initiative will also be backed by a year-long effort to mobilize worldwide political commitment and support for the development activities of African countries. Some of these activities are already under way.

Participating in the global launch were James D. Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank, and the executive heads of UN agencies in Geneva, Nairobi, New York, Paris and Rome.

A live link-up to Addis Ababa enabled Meles Zenawi, Prime Minister of Ethiopia and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim to provide an official response on behalf of Africa. Mr. Zenawi said the Initiative was "fully in line with Africa's priorities and interests", and was being launched at a time when there was a need for steps to ensure its development.

> "Now is the time to forge a new partnership for Africa"

Paying for progress

In comparison to the $767 billion the world's nations spent in 1994 on military preparations, the financial resources needed to implement the Special Initiative seem modest. The UN has broken down the various components of the Initiative into two types: those requiring substantial resource mobilization and implementation, and those calling mainly for strengthening and rationalizing existing efforts. The lion's share of the $25 billion will come from a reordering of priorities in African national budgets, and reallocations of existing levels of multilateral and bilateral official development assistance (ODA), as well as new resources. The exact mix will be determined through a series of consultations at the regional and national levels.

The Initiative will also try other ways of releasing funds for development, including deeper debt relief, enhancing South-South cooperation, expanding trade opportunities and moving private investment and new technology into Africa.

"The issue is how we spend the money", Mr. Wolfensohn said at a 15 March press briefing, in which heads of the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) also participated. Spending existing amounts efficiently would make a major difference. Putting the sum into perspective, he noted that private investments were over three times the size of ODA—$170 billion compared to $50 billion. One of the outcomes of the Initiative should be an improvement in how resources were used, not just how much was actually generated, he stressed.

At the launching ceremony, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali called on the international community "to demonstrate its commitment to the development of a continent which remained a source of constant concern". But the Initiative was also a message to men and women in Africa, he said. The international community was telling them that Africa had not been abandoned and, more than ever, it was under the watchful eyes of the world. He would make every effort to make sure that the Initiative would not fail and its goals would become a reality, translated into concrete initiatives that would change the lives of those men and women.

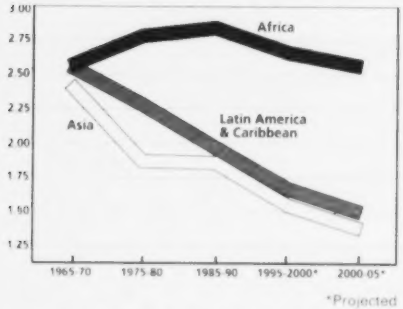
"Now is the time for the United Nations, and the international community as a whole, to stand together with Africa, its leaders and its people. Now is the time for us to forge a new partnership", he declared, adding that as Secretary-General, "this is my goal, and my commitment".

Crisis or opportunity?

At a time when conditions are improving for many peoples in the world, the hard-scrabble existence of many Africans seems to go on, despite sustained efforts by African Governments and civil society and the international community. Of the 48 least developed countries in the world, 33 are in Africa. Today, 365 million Africans—roughly 50 per cent—live in absolute poverty, and Africa is the only region in the world where poverty is expected to increase during this decade.

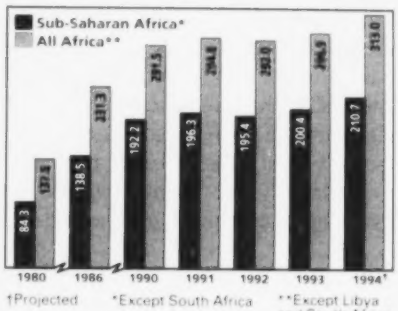
Africa's annual rate of population growth is the highest in the world, with serious implications for sustained economic growth and sustainable development. The number of undernourished has risen to nearly 200 million, and the continent, once a net exporter of food, has become a net importer. An estimated 11 per cent of its total land area is at least moderately damaged by water or wind erosion, and more is threatened by desertification and other scourges—cold confirmation that the continent is suffering from degradation of its natural resources base.

Population growth rates (annual % change)



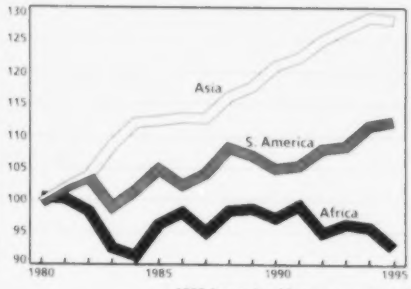
Source: UN Africa Recovery from UN, *World Population Prospects, The 1994 Revision, 1995*

External debt ($bn)



Source: UN Africa Recovery from World Bank, *World Debt Tables, 1993-94* and *1994-95*

Per capita food production (1979-81=100)



1995 figure for Africa is provisional

Source: UN Africa Recovery from FAO, *Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics, Vol. 8, #1-2, 1995*

By 1994, the external debt of Africa had risen to $313 billion, equivalent to 234 per cent of export income and 83 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP)—comparatively higher than in any other region. Exports have stagnated and by 1992 real commodity prices had fallen to half their 1979-1981 average levels.

And there are the flash points. Civil violence in Burundi, Liberia and Somalia and genocide in Rwanda have at one time or another made the headlines. But that is only part of the African reality, and not the most representative. Often with UN assistance, political liberalization, slow and uneven though it might be, is now taking root in a number of States, such as Comoros, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Mali and Sierra Leone. Long-running civil wars in Angola and Mozambique have ended, and rehabilitation and reconstruction are gaining ground. In South Africa, the dramatic demise of apartheid brought with it non-racial democracy. In 1990, Namibia entered the ranks of independent, democratic States.

African Governments have also undertaken a number of difficult political, social and economic reforms that are providing new dynamism for rapid, sustained recovery. A climate conducive to increased domestic and foreign investment is being created; capital markets are being formed; and African entrepreneurship is expanding. Average rates of economic growth in the past two years have improved.

According to the Secretary-General, in a 6 May message to the annual session of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA): "The aim of the Special Initiative is to add momentum to Africa's development at this time when prospects for economic recovery are greater than ever." ■

Enhancing support for African development

The Special Initiative on Africa, launched globally on 15 March by the Secretary-General along with the executive heads of all UN agencies and organizations represented in the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC), aims to give practical expression to the policy commitments made in the past, such as the UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s. Unprecedented in scope, the Initiative reflects the priority accorded to Africa's development by the international community, the mandates emanating from the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and major UN conferences, as well as the undertakings made individually and collectively by African Governments to accelerate the development of their countries.

In a launch-day Declaration, the Committee called the Initiative "a concrete expression of the commitment of all organizations of the system to enhance substantially their support for the development efforts of African countries".

The Special Initiative has 14 components concentrated in critical sectors, such as basic education, basic health, governance, food security, water and sanitation, peace-building and informatics. The components were chosen for making a rapid, significant and durable impact, and each has its own implementation schedule and financing context, as well as a lead UN agency or agencies responsible for mobilizing funding and oversight.

The ACC will monitor implementation through a Steering Committee co-chaired by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) Administrator and the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) Executive Secretary. The World Bank will lead in the resource mobilization for the two largest components of the Initiative: basic education and health reform. It is also expected to play an active role in all other components.

Themes, Components

As the UN's most significant mobilization of international support for development in a single world region, the Special Initiative includes practical actions which the UN hopes will make a major difference to Africa's future. The Initiative is expected to help rationalize development assistance to the continent and maximize its impact. An effective partnership with donor countries and institutions is viewed as critical to success.

The 14 specific "components" for action are grouped by the UN under four cross-cutting "themes" stemming from development priorities defined by Africans themselves.

What is the Special Initiative on Africa?

The Special Initiative is a programme of concrete and coordinated actions designed to maximize support for African development efforts. It will help implement policies and programmes that reflect priorities established by African leaders and will reinforce peace-building and reconstruction in the region. It begins with a year-long political mobilization campaign designed to raise Africa's priority status on the international agenda and to provide a new stimulus for its development. This Initiative is historic because, for the first time, the entire UN system has committed itself to working in a synergistic manner to support the development of a continent's people.

Theme 1:
Give Development a Chance

Underlying this theme are four components considered instrumental for creating a climate favourable for development. It recognizes that in countries torn by warfare, it is meaningless to talk of economic development without first addressing peace-building, conflict resolution and national reconciliation.

To support peace processes now taking hold in Africa, the Special Initiative will focus on augmenting: the capacity of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to engage in conflict prevention, management and resolution; selected organs of civil society engaged in peace-building and the promotion of human rights and democracy; and the use of mass media, particularly radio broadcasting, to support peace-building, both through the reinforcement of a culture of tolerance and through the education and empowerment of people to enable them to express their views and participate in the political process.

Peace-building, conflict resolution and national reconciliation

While tangible backing from the international community remains essential for Africa's development efforts, budgets for external development assistance are under growing pressure in donor countries. Recognizing this, the Special Initiative seeks to encourage the release of more resources for development through a combination of action and advocacy that will embrace African States, donor countries and institutions, and the UN system itself.

The Initiative will strive to galvanize external support for Africa's economic transition in the priority areas of debt relief, trade access and South-South cooperation. With the Secretary-General expected to use his moral authority to speed up concrete actions in these areas, the Initiative intends to encourage: creditors to reduce and make more sustainable Africa's external debt burden; African countries to manage their debt more effectively; and the UN system to have a more integrated and active strategy on African debt. It will also work to lessen Africa's aid depen-

External support for Africa's economic transition

dency by expanding trade access, diversifying export opportunities, boosting foreign direct investment, and increasing the continent's capacity to compete in the global economy. And it will enhance South-South cooperation and partnerships in trade, finance, production and services, particularly through stronger private sector linkages.

The Special Initiative will also need to assist in the mobilization of the continent's internal resources, through improved revenue collection and by stimulating domestic savings and investment. The financial intermediation system will be strengthened for better resource allocation. Critical to the success of financial sector development will be: expanding private lending mechanisms, while reducing the dominance of state-owned banks; lowering government interference in the functioning of credit markets; reducing public sector expenditures in non-core areas; and generating more revenues through improved taxation.

Internal resource mobilization: domestic savings and investment

Participating in the information society offers enormous opportunities for Africa to leap-frog over past development deficiencies and into the future. Being left out could mean being left behind. The Initiative hopes to harness information technology for development to improve links between African countries and the rest of the world. With some communications activities already under way, other proposals in this component include: a regional commission on information technology and communications; installation of Internet nodes with local servers to provide Internet services through small satellite earth stations; training programmes; applications development and dissemination; and setting up an electronic clearinghouse on African development information.

Harnessing information technology for development

UNICEF Photo/John Isaac

Linking-up with the rest of the world.

Theme 2:
New Hope for the Upcoming Generation

A major thrust of the Special Initiative, and its largest resource commitment, is to greatly increase the provision of basic education and health care, in order to ensure that African children have vastly improved opportunities for productive and rewarding lives. Realizing these goals will also promote the empowerment of women, an effort that will have a clear impact on development through more manageable population growth rates and enhanced human welfare.

UNICEF Photo/Jorgen Schytte

Through education, ensuring African children have improved opportunities.

Basic education for all African children

While slow but steady progress towards education has been made in most regions of the world, Africa is the one outstanding exception, with a downward trend in enrolment. A campaign to assure a quality, basic education for all African children will place special emphasis on educating girls and women as part of the effort to make Africa's education system equitable, accessible and relevant. The World Bank will lead the financial mobilization for this component which, at between $12.5 billion and $15.5 billion, is the Initiative's largest. Progress here also entails a long-term commitment by African and donor Governments to the principle of education for all in a continent where up to half of all adults are illiterate and lack the basic skills required for more rapid development.

Basic health sector reform

Boosting the capacity of Africa's health systems to reduce, on a sustainable basis, the most common causes of morbidity and mortality means tending to basic health sector reform. The Initiative will work to increase the coverage, quality and access to primary health care services, as well as target the most common preventable and/or treatable diseases, such as malaria, HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis and major childhood illnesses.

The major tool in reducing poverty is the promotion of employment and sustainable

Employment and sustainable livelihoods

Fleshing out the Initiative

Nairobi—Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali flew to Nairobi on 28 April to meet with the executive directors of United Nations organizations and programmes, and begin fleshing out the new UN System-Wide Special Initiative on Africa.

It was the first time that the Administrative Committee on Coordination (ACC) had met in a developing country, reflecting the focus of the session on African development and the implementation of the Initiative. The ACC is made up of the heads of all UN specialized agencies and programmes.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali, who was there to open the session, as well as to push for the Initiative's implementation, said that "the spotlight of the world's attention should be on Africa. True, there have been some remarkable success stories in Africa. But the continent as a whole, with the greatest number of conflicts, with the greatest number of refugees and displaced persons, and with the fatigue of donor States, is in danger of marginalization." He added that he had been "encouraged" by the international response to the Initiative.

Addis Ababa—In a 6 May message delivered to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the Conference of African Ministers in Addis Ababa, the Secretary-General stressed that their deliberations would provide impetus and support for the Initiative. "Today's real challenge for Africa is to reinforce the promising trends and overcome impediments to accelerated development. Through such efforts lies the possibility for a stable and prosperous transition to the twenty-first century", he declared. The launching of the Initiative on 15 March had "dramatically demonstrated" the UN's determination "to assist Africa to achieve its vision of a better future".

The Special Initiative was on the agenda of the ECA's thirty-first session and of the twenty-second meeting of the Conference of Ministers responsible for Economic and Social Development and Planning. The ECA has been entrusted with several specific responsibilities in the implementation of the Initiative.

livelihoods. In Africa, the informal sector accounts for about 60 per cent of the labour force—the majority women—and 20 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP). Part of the Initiative's strategy is to strengthen the informal sector and generate productive, remunerative jobs, with women as specific targets. It will support increased access to technology, skills development, entrepreneurial training and micro-credit. It will also promote a participatory approach to developing sustainable livelihoods in environmentally marginal areas, especially rural communities in arid and semi-arid agro-ecological zones, building on local knowledge and community-based action.

Theme 3:
Strengthening the Capacity for Governance

Better governance can equip Africans to attain their political, economic and social aspirations, and the continent's leaders are taking steps in this direction. The Initiative aims to capitalize on their efforts by expanding the capacities for transparent, responsible and effective governance and strengthening Africa's civil service to better manage development. It will also help build independent judicial systems, support the functioning of parliaments and electoral processes, make public administration more accountable, and increase the flow of public information on development policies and programmes.

Expanding the capacities for transparent, responsible and effective governance

One of the most promising trends in Africa has been the rise of pluralism, often driven by civil society. By strengthening the capacity of civil society to participate in development, public policy can be enriched. The Initiative will help selected civil society organizations engage in peace-building, conflict resolution and national reconciliation, with a special focus on women's organizations. Three subregional centres are envisaged to promote conflict prevention and resolution, linking public and private organizations within Africa to the UN and to non-governmental organizations addressing issues of human rights and social justice.

Strengthening civil society for development

Theme 4:
Urgency on Survival Issues

Together, food production, population growth and protection of Africa's fragile and already damaged ecosystem present one of the most formidable challenges facing the continent. The number of chronically undernourished people is projected to increase by another 100 million by the year 2010, and pressure on land, vegetation and water supplies has made Africa increasingly prone to food security crises.

The Special Initiative seeks to promote: control of land degradation and desertification; soil quality improvement through plant nutrition management and fertilizer use; and food security, with a special emphasis on women, who produce up to 80 per cent of the total food supply. It will support the reform of laws that contribute to the subordination of women, and the enactment of new laws and changes in practices regarding land ownership and access to credit and extension services.

Food security and drought management

Diminishing sources of clean water could become a prime cause of civil and international instability in the next century. Another priority of the Special Initiative will be *assuring sus-*

UNICEF Photo/Sean Sprague

Women produce up to 80 per cent of the total food supply in Africa.

tainable use of and equitable access to fresh water in Africa, and *household water security* for drinking and sanitation for at least 80 per cent of the population. These efforts will be backed with *freshwater assessments* to provide accurate information on the quantity and quality of water as a prerequisite for its future development. Finally, improved water management practices will be fostered to assure adequate *water for food production*. This will include encouraging irrigation development and adoption of appropriate technologies.

Four components of water issues

A development consensus

In light of Africa's need, recognized by the international community, to take charge of its own development and set its own agenda, African leaders have affirmed, through the OAU's 1995 Cairo Agenda for Action, that it is time to move towards the concrete implementation of those development strategies agreed upon in various international forums. The Cairo Agenda identifies issues such as governance, peace and stability, food security, human resource development, resource mobilization, regional economic cooperation and integration, and structural transformation of Africa's economies as key priorities for immediate action. The Special Initiative builds on this consensus, identifying actions which support Africa's priorities and will provide a real stimulus to the continent's growth.

Delivering on the promise

One thing is clear—this monumental effort to enhance Africa's development possibilities will require strong international support to achieve its goals. Can the UN and its Member States deliver on their part of the Initiative, especially during this time of common budgetary crisis?

Since 1986, Member States have directed the UN to give special attention to Africa. In various UN programmes unanimously adopted by Member States, they have jointly identified the most significant challenges facing the continent and the most appropriate ways of addressing them.

Early consultations with a number of countries indicate that this Initiative is welcomed, and further intensive consultations are planned at the national, subregional and regional levels. A major meeting of Africa's ministers of finance and planning reviewed the Initiative in depth, and other ministerial meetings on the continent have also endorsed it.

Given this level of commitment, a reduction in activities in Africa is not justified. The financial implications are actually relatively small. Operating agencies, including the World Bank and other multilateral and bilateral donors, are expected to meet the external financial resource requirements for the various components of the Initiative. With the UN playing a catalytic role, the commitment of the heads of all UN agencies and the support of the international community ensures an unprecedented level of concerted action. ■

WHO Photo/J. Schytte

Water management is a prerequisite for development.

Security Council calls for disengagement of forces, comprehensive cease-fire

The Security Council and the Secretary-General expressed shock and concern at the resumption of factional fighting in Monrovia in April, which resulted in the death of thousands of civilians and the uprooting of countless others, and called for the immediate disengagement of all forces.

On 6 May, the Council called upon the parties to cease fighting immediately, observe the cease-fire and return Monrovia to a safe haven under the protection of the Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Council President Qin Huasun of China said it regretted that the deterioration of the situation had forced the evacuation of personnel of the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL), and reminded all States of their obligation to comply with the embargo on all arms to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992).

On 11 April, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali strongly condemned the continuing escalation of hostilities, killings, taking of hostages and ransacking and looting of UN property. He was sending his special envoy, James Jonah, to Accra for consultations and to deliver an urgent message to President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, current Chairman of ECOWAS. Mr. Jonah would also travel to Liberia as soon as conditions allowed.

On 9 April, the Council expressed "grave concern" at the outbreak of fighting in Monrovia and the rapidly deteriorating situation throughout Liberia, and called on the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) and the Liberian parties to work with ECOMOG to immediately disengage all forces, re-establish peace and law and order in the capital, and an effective and comprehensive cease-fire throughout the country.

In a statement read out by its President, Juan Somovia of Chile, the Council called on the parties, in particular the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO-J), to release all hostages without harm. It also called on all parties to take immediate steps to ensure the safety of UN and other international personnel, and to respect the inviolability of diplomatic personnel and property. It further called for the return of all captured weapons and equipment to ECOMOG.

The Council stated that unless Liberia's leaders demonstrated their political will and determination to implement the 1995 Abuja Agreement and the cease-fire, they risked losing the support of the international community. The Council reaffirmed its support for the Abuja Agreement as the only viable framework for resolving the country's political crisis, and for the crucial role of ECOWAS in bringing the conflict to an end.

AP/Wide World Photos

A Liberian child's plea for help.

Abuja Agreement

The Abuja Agreement, negotiated under the auspices of the ECOWAS Chairman, was signed by the Liberian faction leaders in August 1995. It had resulted in a cease-fire, which commenced on 26 August, and the creation of a six-member Council of State to remain in power until the elections scheduled for 20 August 1996.

In his report of 1 April (*S/1996/232*), submitted prior to the 6 April outbreak of fighting in Monrovia, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that the situation in Liberia was "rapidly deteriorating" and unless the peace process was put back on track in the very near future, the consequences could be "disastrous".

The civilian population and even some combatants had demonstrated a strong desire for peace, the report added. They were, however, frustrated by the failure of the Council of State and the faction leaders to muster the political will to implement the Abuja Agreement, in particular its disarmament and demobilization aspects, which were essential for the restoration of durable peace.

The Secretary-General called on the Council of State to approve the disarmament and demobilization plan im-

mediately and ensure that the factions were ready to disarm by 30 April. He stated that the implementation of the Abuja Agreement was ultimately the responsibility of the Council of State and especially the faction leaders. But he noted that ECOMOG still lacked the additional manpower and logistical capability to deploy throughout the country in order to establish a secure environment for implementing the peace process.

He stressed that the international community needed to take urgent action to enable ECOMOG to discharge its mandate. The failure to provide the necessary resources had given the factions the opportunity to procrastinate and renege on their commitments. Without a resolute effort to give ECOMOG the necessary resources, the international community might ultimately face "a major humanitarian disaster that could destabilize the subregion" and would be far more costly in the long run, the Secretary-General stated.

Chronology of fighting

Giving a chronological account of events leading to the resumption of fighting, the report stated that on 28 December 1995 heavy fighting had broken out at Tubmanburg as a result of unprovoked attacks on ECOMOG by troops of General Roosevelt Johnson's wing of ULIMO-J. Casualties had been suffered by the combatants and the civilian population. Despite the efforts of UNOMIL, the LNTG and ECOWAS, ULIMO-J had yet to withdraw from Tubmanburg or return to ECOMOG the heavy weapons it had seized during the fighting. On 1 March, ECOMOG withdrew from Tubmanburg, indicating that it would redeploy to the area only when its weapons had been returned, the report stated.

As a result of discord within ULIMO-J, its leaders removed Gen. Johnson as its Chairman on 2 March and installed Gen. William Karyee as Acting Chairman. Concerned that the conflict within ULIMO-J could create tension in other areas, particularly in Monrovia and Kakata, the Council of State invited the two Generals to a meeting at the executive mansion on 5 March. Gen. Johnson failed to attend the meeting. Thereafter, the Council of State decided to extend temporary recognition to the new ULIMO-J leadership, suspended Gen. Johnson from his Cabinet post, and requested ECOMOG to search his residence for weapons.

On 7 March, as ECOMOG searched Gen. Johnson's residence, persons loyal to him abducted a military observer of the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and two other foreigners.

AP/Wide World Photos

A young National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) fighter armed with a machete guards a roadblock in down-town Monrovia, wearing a United States flag in his hat.

Following negotiations, the hostages were released unharmed on the same day.

On 22 March, fighting broke out between rival ULIMO-J forces in the eastern sections of Monrovia. The next day, the Council of State issued a warrant for the arrest of Gen. Johnson, accusing him of the murder of a man found dead on his property.

All through April and early May, the fighting continued, having turned largely into a factional conflict between the NPFL/ULIMO-J alliance led by Charles Taylor and Alhaji Kromah on the one hand, and the predominantly Krahn factions of Roosevelt Johnson (ULIMO-J, the LPC and the AFL) on the other. Thousands of hostages were held in the Barclay Training Centre where their condition was reported to be "pathetic". Cholera was prevalent, and food and water were in short supply.

Towards the end of April, the situation had improved somewhat, although there were still some skirmishes between the factions, as well as sporadic firing and looting in some parts of Monrovia. UNOMIL and ECOMOG were making regular joint patrols and ECOMOG had strengthened its deployment in the city.

There had also been some progress on the political front and all factions had agreed to the terms of a cease-fire proposal made by a mediation team consisting of representatives of UNOMIL, ECOWAS, the Ambassadors of Guinea, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the United States. The Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, James Jonah, had also taken part in the talks.

The ECOWAS Committee of Nine, at a meeting held in Accra on 7 and 8 May, gave the Liberian factions two months to meet certain basic conditions embodied in a document called "Mechanism for returning Liberia to the Abuja Agreement". Those included the restoration of the cease-fire in, and the withdrawal of fighters from, Monrovia, respect for the city as a safe haven, and a return to the Abuja Peace Process. Unless the Liberian faction leaders made progress in fulfilling those conditions, ECOWAS would reexamine its role and presence in Liberia at its July summit.

UNOMIL's mandate extended

Earlier, on 29 January, the Security Council, in resolution 1041 (1996), had extended the mandate of UNOMIL until 31 May, while stressing that continued international support for the Liberian peace process was contingent on the demonstrated commitment of the parties to national reconciliation.

The Council also expressed grave concern at recent cease-fire violations and attacks on ECOMOG troops and

demanded that such hostile acts cease forthwith. It stressed the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia, as well as the need to rehabilitate its penitentiary system.

In a 23 January report (S/1996/47 and Add. 1), the Secretary-General observed that recent events in Liberia had caused serious concern and delayed further the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. ECOMOG reported that it had suffered 94 casualties—16 dead and 78 wounded—as a result of the fighting in Tubmanburg, with an additional 10 soldiers missing in action.

The peace process was at a critical juncture and the full support of all concerned would be required to overcome the recent setbacks, the report added. The faction leaders must ensure that their forces observed the cease-fire, disengaged without delay, and co-operated with ECOMOG and UNOMIL. The international community, for its part, must provide the resources necessary to enable ECOMOG to fulfil its responsibilities effectively, since the continued lack of support could jeopardize the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. ■

Dispatches from the front:
Day-to-day events in Monrovia (8-12 April 1996)

Monday, 8 April:
Offices of UN agencies attacked

Ahmed Fawzi, Deputy Spokesman for the Secretary-General, said the situation in Liberia had deteriorated significantly over the weekend. The decision to evacuate UN personnel had not yet been made, though most of the military observers had moved into the United States compound. While the main UN offices had not been looted, offices of some of the UN agencies, including the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the World Health Organization (WHO), had been attacked.

There were currently 233 UN personnel in Liberia, including those of UNOMIL, as well as the UN agencies. "As far as we know, at this time no UN people have been hurt", Mr. Fawzi said. Communications had been briefly interrupted yesterday, but had since been restored.

The Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA) had detected population movements, numbering in the thousands, which included internally displaced people living in camps near Monrovia, but as yet it was too early to know if they needed assistance, once freedom of movement had been re-established.

Tuesday, 9 April:
Large-scale looting going on

The Secretary-General's Special Representative for Liberia, Anthony Nyakyi, said the situation there "was a little bit calmer than yesterday, but still very, very tense", according to Sylvana Foa, Spokesman for the Secretary-General.

The UN staff was in various locations, but "everyone is accounted for". There were about 40 people in the UN compound, and some 500 had taken shelter in the offices of the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) which were located right off Mamba Point.

There was a severe shortage of water and food. The staff of the World Food Programme (WFP) was trying to ship food supplies to Mamba Point, where many people were trapped. The food situation in the United States compound was also serious. Large-scale looting had been going on; the UNOMIL warehouse had been looted, as were the offices of the humanitarian agencies.

Wednesday, 10 April:
Scouts fired upon

Word had been received from Mr. Nyakyi that the situation in Monrovia was still quite tense. A "tentative" cease-fire had been reached yesterday, but it remained to be seen how it would work out. Evidently, not all the forces were abiding totally by the agreement. Explosions and sporadic gunfire could still be heard in the city.

ECOMOG had increased its strength in central Monrovia and had created a buffer zone between the factions at the Barclay Army Training Centre, which was helping the situation. Contrary to previous reports, no UN personnel had been evacuated. The staff member, who had been reported as having been evacuated yesterday, had actually made a quick trip to Sierra Leone to make arrangements for UN aircraft.

Looting was continuing and UNOMIL had lost a number of vehicles and considerable communications equipment—a loss the UN could ill-afford.

An attempt by the WFP on Tuesday to ship food to Mamba Point had fallen through due to the lack of small boats to off-load supplies. An effort to make a deal with the factions to escort trucks was delayed after scouts, who were sent to examine the road route, were fired upon. Some 15,000 to 20,000 Liberians were in the United States and UN compounds on Mamba Point, and the food and water situation was becoming increasingly more difficult.

Thursday, 11 April:
'A frenzy of looting'

A UN spokesman said reports from the scene in Monrovia were a bit sketchy as communications with UNOMIL headquarters had been lost. The civilian and military observer staff there had been moved across the street into the United States compound. Reports indicated that there was very heavy looting going on—"a frenzy of looting". The gates of the UNOMIL headquarters had been broken down at 6 a.m. (EDT)—10 a.m. (local time)—today, and the place was

completely looted. Special Representative Nyakyi, therefore, decided to move the remaining UNOMIL military and civilian staff to the United States embassy, where everyone was reported to be safe.

There had also been reports of the UNICEF and UNDP buildings being badly looted, she continued. Vehicles had reportedly been stolen from the garages of the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Last night, the Secretary-General had decided, on the advice of Mr. Nyakyi, to begin relocating non-essential UNOMIL staff members to Freetown, because some of the staff could no longer perform their functions due to the continued fighting, as well as the loss of communications and vehicles. Those who were unable to work would be taken out; the exact number involved was unclear, but it was thought that about seven staff members were taken out on Wednesday.

Ms. Foa said that UNOMIL had tried unsuccessfully to get a food convoy through from Riverview to Mamba Point—two places where international agencies had their offices. Conditions were reported as "a little bit quieter in Riverview" than in Mamba Point where, with approximately 20,000 people, the food and water situation was really critical. The convoy, however, was ambushed in the centre of the city and came under heavy gunfire. Several ECOMOG members escorting the convoy were wounded, and their trucks taken, but the drivers were able to get back to Riverview. Another UN scout team had managed to get through the city and had returned with a report of systematic looting everywhere.

Special Representative Nyakyi had met with the ECOMOG commander and several ambassadors. Their assessment was that the faction leaders were not responding to their calls for a ceasefire. ECOMOG was having difficulty effectively deploying in the city because of the chaos, and there were growing indications that some faction leaders might not be in total control of their fighters.

Ms. Foa expressed concern about the people in Riverview because, while there was more food and water there, they were running very short on fuel. If the fuel ran out, communications with Riverview might be lost as well. At present, UN personnel were scattered all over the city, with 73 military observers in the United States embassy compound and another 19 observers up-country. The civilian staff of UNOMIL and other agencies was scattered around the city; some were in the embassy compound, while many were in Riverview.

While no complete estimates of losses due to looting were yet available, looters were now "very well-equipped with United Nations vehicles".The UNHCR had said that they had lost eight vehicles. The UN had lost almost all its vehicles, but it was not known how many might have remained in residential garages and undetected by looters. It appeared that communications equipment and anything that could be ripped out and carried away were gone; it was all being loaded by looters into UN vehicles and driven away.

Ms. Foa said it was not true that UN military observers had "cut and run" and made no attempt to help the civilian staff. In the early stages of the gunfire and looting, there had been a report of a gang of 300 fighters from one faction who were out to kill anybody in a UN uniform. At one point, people from the UN compound had moved into the United States compound, which had weapons. They had later returned to the UN compound; the civilian and the military observers had always stayed together.

Friday, 12 April:

'Absolute anarchy in the streets'

A UNHCR staff member had described the situation as "absolute anarchy in the streets of Monrovia", with bodies on the streets and "wanton looting". The UNHCR office had been broken into and looted this morning. The staff barely managed to get out before the looters made it into the office. Threats had been received from armed militias, who had vowed to attack and loot the office before the end of the day.

Spokesman Foa said it had been decided to consolidate all UN offices in the Riverview section of Monrovia. Some UN personnel in Mamba Point were trying to get to Riverview. The consolidated office would consist of 37 staff members. There were also 19 military observers up country in Liberia.

Some 39 non-essential personnel were being taken out of Riverview under a heavy ECOMOG escort to a port area where they were scheduled to board a Dutch ship to leave the region.

A report from the WFP said the food situation was growing increasingly critical and tens of thousands of Liberians had been made homeless by the fighting. Street fighting, sniper fire and the chaotic security situation were still preventing any movement of food to Mamba Point, where an estimated 20,000 Liberians had taken refuge. Most of the fighting centred around the Barclay Army Barracks, where many of the forces of Roosevelt Johnson were located. ■

Council approves export/import monitoring mechanism to ensure Iraq's weapons programme is not redeveloped

The Security Council, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, on 27 March approved an export/import monitoring mechanism to ensure that Iraq did not reconstitute its programmes for weapons of mass destruction, and demanded that Iraq unconditionally meet its obligations under that mechanism.

By unanimously adopting resolution 1051 (1996), the Council also approved the establishment of a joint unit at UN Headquarters, constituted by the Special Commission charged with monitoring Iraq's weapons capabilities (UNSCOM) and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), to facilitate the mechanism's implementation. All States would have to transmit to the joint unit notifications of dual-use equipment intended for Iraq and any relevant information on items and technologies regulated under previous Council resolutions, as well as on attempts to circumvent the mechanism.

Iraq was required to inform the joint unit of all items and technologies covered by the mechanism within 60 days of the adoption of resolution 1051 (1996). States were called upon to adopt as soon as possible national measures to enable them to implement the mechanism. They were provided with information necessary for that purpose by the Special Commission and the IAEA Director-General in mid-May. All information provided through the mechanism would be treated as confidential and restricted to the Special Commission and the IAEA.

The Council recognized that the mechanism would not impede Iraq's legitimate right to import or export non-proscribed items and technology necessary for the promotion of its economic and social development. The monitoring mechanism was adopted in response to a proposal put forward, at the Council's request, by its Sanctions Committee established under resolution 661 (1990), the Special Commission and the IAEA.

Export/import monitoring mechanism

The mechanism is one element of the UNSCOM's and IAEA's plans, approved by resolution 715 (1991), for monitoring and verifying that Iraq did not reacquire proscribed weapons capabilities, according to a report transmitted through a 7 December 1995 letter *(S/1995/1017)* from the Sanctions Committee Chairman. Such monitoring was to be of indefinite duration and was to continue until terminated by the Council.

The report said that the mechanism was not a regime for international licensing, but rather for the timely provision of information by States whose companies were contemplating sales or supplies to Iraq of items covered by the various monitoring plans. Iraq, in addition to its imports, should also report the export of items subject to the plans. Both Iraq and the Governments of suppliers would have to provide notifications of exports in advance of shipment. The notifications had to identify the supplier, give a description of the item or items, including technology, and provide the name of the end-user or consignee and the expected

'Oil-for-food' agreement reached

After some 50 sessions of complex, often intense, negotiations, a Memorandum of Understanding on the implementation of resolution 986 (1995), the "oil-for-food" formula, was signed on 20 May between the UN and the Iraqi Government. According to the resolution, States are authorized to import up to $1 billion in Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products every 90 days in order to help ensure that the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people are met.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali called the Memorandum—signed in his office by Abdul Amir Al-Anbari of Iraq and UN negotiator Hans Corell—a "success of the Security Council". It was the Council that, through resolution 986, had recognized the humanitarian needs of the Iraqi people and had decided to find a way to help alleviate the problems of some of the poorest of the poor.

The Secretary-General had been actively involved with the process since April 1995, initially in convincing the Iraqi Government to take part in the negotiations, and then in closely following the talks and keeping the Council informed of their progress.

Important technical issues remain to be settled. In a briefing on 21 May to the Committee monitoring sanctions against Iraq, Mr. Corell, who is also Under-Secretary-General for Legal Affairs and UN Legal Counsel, enumerated a number of steps that now had to be taken: the adoption of expedited procedures by the Committee; establishment of an escrow account; the submission by the Iraqi Government of the distribution plan for the Secretary-General's approval; the selection of experts to monitor the oil sales; the appointment of independent inspectors; and the establishment of the observation mechanism of the distribution of humanitarian supplies.

date of shipping/dispatch. The mechanism had to be strong enough to deter Iraq and suppliers from potential breaches and must be augmented by the ability of the Special Commission and the IAEA to conduct unrestricted inspections throughout Iraq to determine that the items were in fact used for their stated purpose, and not for proscribed purposes. The Commission and the IAEA would monitor the notifiable items in Iraq to ensure that this was the case. The information provided under the mechanism should be treated as confidential and restricted to the Commission and the IAEA.

Special Commission's report

During the first quarter of 1996, Iraq had disclosed information of great significance for the comprehension of the scope and size of its proscribed weapons programmes, according to an 11 April report of the Special Commission *(S/1996/258)*. There had been progress on many fronts and UNSCOM was certainly nearer to completing its task of accounting for and disposing of Iraq's proscribed programmes. But there had also been some setbacks.

The Commission had made special efforts to identify under three weapons categories—missile, biological and chemical—what was missing and what could be done to sort out the remaining problems, the report stated. Progress could not be achieved without thorough inspection activities to search for hidden items and/or verify Iraq's claims of full compliance.

It was all the more disappointing that Iraq had chosen to obstruct an inspection (UNSCOM 143) which had the sole purpose of verification and clarification *(see box on page 17)*, the report continued. The result had been to raise suspicion that prohibited items were being hidden. Relatively minor, but highly significant quantities of weapons agents and components remained unaccounted for.

Missile activities

The Special Commission continued intensive inspection and monitoring activities in the missile area, with over 150 visits to more than 50 sites carried out by resident monitoring teams operating from the Baghdad Monitoring and Verification Centre. Five inspection teams and several expert special missions had also been sent to Iraq.

On 27 February, Iraq had submitted a new document—"draft full, final and complete declaration of the Iraqi national ballistic missile programme"—which incorporated significant new information and responded to some recommendations made by the Commission Chairman. It admitted for the first time that Project 1728—Iraq's major project for the development and production of long-range missile liquid propellant engines—had been set up specifically for missile activities, thus clarifying many ambiguities in its previous declarations.

IAEA/UNSCOM

Search of Iraqi documents containing information on proscribed activities.

The Commission had not yet received from Iraq a clear and definitive account of proscribed weapons, equipment and materials, the report added. That left a suspicion that such items still existed in Iraq. The Commission also believed that Iraq was withholding important documents related to proscribed activities.

A specialized team (UNSCOM 137) had, during a March inspection, concluded that Iraq's work on long-range missiles (i.e. ranges over 1,000 kilometres) was more advanced than previously declared. Iraq had undertaken to provide additional information and correct the relevant portions of the February draft.

The Commission also intended to tag Iraq's Volga missiles and monitor them to ensure that they were not modified for surface-to-surface use, according to the report. That was because Iraq had recently admitted that, after the adoption of resolution 687 (1991), it had carried out an undeclared programme to modify a Volga/SA 2 surface-to-air missile system to a surface-to-surface application with a range of over 100 kilometres. Such a programme should not have been carried out without informing the Commission.

UNSCOM expressed great concern over the recent delivery to Iraq of a large number of sophisticated missile guidance and control components, which it was investigating thoroughly, the report stated.

Chemical activities

In February, Iraq provided a new draft full, final and complete disclosure of its chemical weapons activities. That draft was still incomplete in important respects, and the figures for chemical weapons precursors, agents and munitions produced, procured and destroyed had been changed. No documentation had been provided to explain the changes. The strong presumption must be that the changes had been made on the basis of information that Iraq had not yet disclosed to the Commission.

In an effort to find such documents, the Commission had excavated

several destroyed buildings at Al Muthanna, the site of Iraq's largest chemical weapons research and production facility. During that dangerous and demanding mission, the inspection team had retrieved some 5,000 pages of printed materials, including computer discs, as well as artillery chemical warheads and "binary" artillery shells.

Biological activities

Through its investigation of Iraq's biological weapons programme, the Commission had been able to identify a number of facilities that played a key role in the programme. That included the Al Hakam factory, a dedicated biological warfare research, development, production and munition filling facility, and the foot and mouth disease vaccine plant that was used extensively by Iraq for the production of biological warfare agents. Pending a decision on the disposal of those facilities and their equipment, as called for in resolution 687 (1991), the Commission had asked Iraq to cease all activity at those two sites. Iraq had agreed and had assisted in setting up appropriate deactivation and surveillance measures.

The Commission still believed that Iraq had not yet given a full and correct account of its proscribed activities in the area of biological weapons.

Financial situation

The Commission remained concerned about its financial situation, but paid tribute to those Member States that contributed to its work through the provision of cash, experts, equipment, facilities and air support essential to its tasks.

IAEA report

In its 11 April report *(S/1996/261)*, the IAEA stated that its Nuclear Monitoring Group had conducted in Iraq 155 inspections at some 65 facilities, 16 of which had not previously been inspected. It had not seen instances of activities or the presence of equipment or materials proscribed by Security Council resolutions.

Iraq had continued to cooperate with the IAEA, but had persisted in understating its achievements in the nuclear weapons programme, the report stated. It was prudent to assume that Iraq retained the theoretical capability to produce nuclear-weapons-usable material, fabricate nuclear weapons and to design and manufacture a missile delivery system. The design, implementation and development of the IAEA's plan for ongoing monitoring and verification in Iraq was based on that assumption.

UNSCOM Photo/Henry Arvidsson

Installation of a camera for remote monitoring at a dual-use production facility.

Humanitarian relief

The response to a UN humanitarian appeal for Iraq had been extremely limited, with only $72 million pledged in response to a revised appeal for $169.3 million, according to the Department of Humanitarian Affairs. Delegates to a 25 January meeting in Geneva of UN agencies stressed that conditions were deteriorating in Iraq, particularly in the central and southern parts, where food aid and health-related requirements were increasing. They appealed urgently to donor Governments to provide funding for humanitarian assistance for Iraq.

The agencies expressed serious concern over the rapidly widening gap between growing needs among the most vulnerable sectors of the Iraqi population and the international community's shrinking financial contributions to the humanitarian programme in the country. A substantial amount of aid up to the end of 1995 had been funded from frozen Iraqi assets deposited in the UN Escrow Account. Additional funds were unlikely to be made available from that account, thus affecting many ongoing assistance programmes.

A 25 March report by the World Health Organization (WHO) stated that health conditions in Iraq were deteriorating at an alarming rate. The vast majority of Iraqis continued to survive on a semi-starvation diet due to chronic shortages of food and of money to buy it. Malnutrition among young children was widespread, and there were epidemics of malaria, cholera, typhoid and other infectious diseases. From 1990 to 1994, mortality in children under five had increased more than 600 per cent.

Activities of Sanctions Committee

The Sanctions Committee established to monitor the sanctions against Iraq on 1 February said it had no objections to a request for a technical inspection by a team of Air France technicians of two Iraqi aircraft based at Tozeur, Tunisia. This was based on a confirmation from France that the sole purpose of the proposed inspection was to evaluate the condition of the aircraft, free of charge, and that no repairs were involved.

The Committee also acceded to a re-

Iraq delays access to inspection sites

The Security Council on 19 March demanded that the Government of Iraq allow the team of the Special Commission charged with investigating Iraq's biological, chemical and missile capabilities "immediate, unconditional and unrestricted" access to all sites designated by UNSCOM for inspection.

Council President Legwaila J.M.J. Legwaila of Botswana said Iraq's delays on four occasions—9, 11, 14 and 15 March—in permitting the inspection team access to the sites designated by the Special Commission constituted clear violations by Iraq of the provisions of Council resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991) and 715 (1991).

The Council was responding to a series of incidents, which began with a request for access to the Ministry of Irrigation on 8 March. That was followed by three other requests for access to three sites belonging to the Republican Guard, including a training institute and headquarters. The Council noted that in all of the cases access was subsequently granted only after unacceptable delays.

According to resolution 687 (1991), which authorized the Secretary-General to establish the Special Commission, Iraq is required to permit immediate on-site inspections of any of its self-declared biological, chemical and missile capabilities, as well as any other locations designated by the Commission. Subsequent resolutions expanded and confirmed the obligation of Iraq to grant inspection teams immediate and unrestricted access to all facilities.

In a 17 March letter addressed to the Council President *(S/1996/204)*, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz pointed out that access was delayed due to "practical factors relating to ensuring the efficiency of the inspection". It was also a result of the special nature of the premises that the team had asked to inspect, such as a ministry and the headquarters relating to national security.

UNSCOM Photo/Henry Arvidsson

UNSCOM helicopter with mounted Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) during inspection.

In its 11 April report *(S/1945/258)*, UNSCOM noted that on its inspection series 143, the team had experienced significant delays at one third of the sites, thus reducing the confidence the Commision might have had that the inspections were conducted in a way that would enable it to decide whether proscribed items or related documentation had or had not been present at the sites when the team arrived.

Rolf Ekeus, Chairman of the Special Commission, on 9 March had informed the Council *(S/1996/182)* that Iraq had denied a team access to a facility which had been designated for inspection. After a prolonged exchange of communications, an arrangement had been arrived at whereby initial access to the facility would be granted to the Chief Inspector and 12 experts, with the Chief Inspector having the right, if he determined that his investigation so required, to call in as many additional experts as might be needed. A team of 28 experts had finally been involved in the inspection, which had then proceeded unhindered.

Mr. Ekeus added that while "the delay occasioned by Iraq in permitting this inspection to proceed may call into question whether steps were taken by Iraq to dispose of documents and other items relating to its proscribed weapons programmes, there can be no doubt that the prompt action taken by the Council to call in the Permanent Representative of Iraq, to authorize a press briefing by the Council President, and to agree to meet again within a matter of hours if a satisfactory solution was not found, was decisive in obtaining Iraq's decision to permit a full inspection of the facility to proceed under circumstances acceptable to the Commission".

In a 12 March letter to Mr. Ekeus, the Council President reiterated that Iraq's delay in permitting the inspection team access to various sites constituted "a clear violation" of the provisions of resolutions 687 (1991), 707 (1991) and 715 (1991). The Iraqi Government must allow the team immediate, unconditional and unrestricted access to all sites designated by the Commission for inspection. The letter added that Council members had also learnt with concern of a further incident on 11 March, when an inspection team had again not been allowed "immediate and unconditional access" to another site. Access had been subsequently granted only after unacceptable delays.

UNSCOM Photo/Henry Arvidsson

Sampling of chemical weapons precursors at Muthanna State Establishment.

quest for the repair of Iraqi vessels in an Italian port on the basis of a detailed study certifying that the repair was meant to avert an environmental and navigational hazard.

On 25 January, the Committee heard a presentation by the Lloyd's Register Cargo Examination and Verification Team, which monitors and examines cargo at the Port of Aqaba, Jordan, to ensure the strict implementation of resolution 661 (1990). One of the areas mentioned by Lloyd's concerned the notification procedure followed by the Jordanian authorities with regard to the supply of foodstuffs to Iraq.

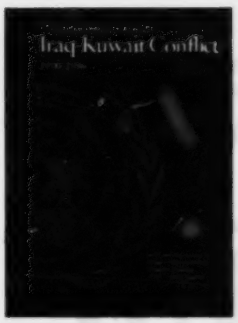
Vice-Admiral John Scott Redd, Coordinator of the Multinational Interception Force (MIF) enforcing the sanctions regime, reported to the Committee that MIF had conducted more than 22,000 queries, resulting in nearly 10,000 boardings and more than 550 diversions of ships.

The MIF—the largest maritime sanctions monitoring and verification effort in history — is operating in the Persian Gulf on the strength of Council resolution 665 (1990) to prevent prohibited items from entering and leaving Iraq. Vessels from 15 countries, serving on rotation, have so far participated in the Force. The Committee agreed to establish a direct channel of communication with the MIF to enable instant verification of its authorization and to be routinely informed of ship diversions.

UNIKOM maintained

The Security Council on 4 April decided to maintain the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM), according to the Council President's letter to the Secretary-General. In a 1 April report *(S/1996/225)*, the Secretary-General stated that during the last six months, the Iraq-Kuwait border and the demilitarized zone had remained generally calm. UNIKOM had contributed to that situation through its patrolling and liaison activities, and had received the cooperation of both sides. ■

The United Nations and the
Iraq-Kuwait Conflict



1990-1996

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Security Council condemns attacks on civilians

Calls for immediate cessation of hostilities by all parties

The situation in the Middle East was seriously aggravated during February and March following a number of attacks and counter-attacks by Hamas and the Hezbullah against Israel and by Israel against the Hezbullah, which resulted in many civilian deaths. A cease-fire was finally reached on 26 April as a result of mediation by the United States, and a modicum of calm returned to the area.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 7 May, in welcoming the cease-fire agreement, expressed the hope that the restoration of calm in the area would "enhance the prospects for negotiations leading to a comprehensive peace settlement which would preclude further tragic events".

Attacks condemned

The terrorist attacks against civilians in Israel—the bombings in Jerusalem on 25 February and 3 March, in Ashkelon on 25 February, and in Tel Aviv on 4 March—were strongly condemned throughout the international community, including the Security Council and other UN bodies, as well as by the Secretary-General.

"These vile acts had the clear purpose of trying to undermine Middle East peace efforts through such terror", Council President Legwaila J. Legwaila of Botswana stated on 4 March. Council members also "reiterate their support for the peace process and call on the parties to consolidate it and to increase their cooperation in curbing violence and combating such terrorism", he added.

On 25 February, Council President Madeleine K. Albright of the United States had told the press that Council members, in extending their "deepest sympathies to the Government and people of Israel, especially the families of the victims", called upon all parties to "spare no effort to take all possible actions to continue to support, consolidate and advance the peace process".

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali denounced the 4 March bombing in Tel Aviv—the fourth in Israel in nine days—as a "heinous act of cowardice".

The "civilized world will not, must not, tolerate these acts of terrorism which have no goal except the undermining of the Middle East peace process", he stated. "The senseless carnage must end. I appeal to all those who advocate violence to come to their senses."

In condemning the 3 March terrorist bombing of a bus in Jerusalem, the Secretary-General said he was "shocked and outraged by these appalling acts of terrorism against innocent civilians". He called on "all men and women of good will not to allow terrorism to endanger the precious gains achieved by the Israeli and Palestinian people at an already great cost".

That "upsurge of terrorism" required the world community to "stand together, to speak out, and to unite in action against these despicable acts of violence", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated on 5 March in Mexico City.

"Nothing can justify those who murder and maim innocent people", he stressed. "No grievance can excuse these cowardly attempts to spread fear and death among a civilian population. Terrorists fear negotiations", the Secretary-General went on. "They reject democratic processes. That is why they step up their attacks whenever progress is being made towards peace".

The international community "must not let terrorism succeed", Mr. Boutros-Ghali urged. "We must join together to prevent their contemptible acts. ... The Middle East peace process—and progress towards peace and justice—must be steadfast and must bravely go forward."

"How many more innocent people must die and suffer before we have peace in the region?" the Secretary-General asked on 26 February, at the opening of the 1996 session of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. "Extremism from any quarter must be curbed", he stressed.

The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 6 March expressed "grave concern over terrorist acts victimizing certain racial, ethnic and national groups" and condemned the "recent terrorist acts in Israel resulting in the indiscriminate killing of innocent people".

By a statement issued at its forty-eighth session in Geneva, the Committee also declared that there was "no justification whatsoever for such acts" and expressed its "resolute and full support for the Middle East peace process".

On 22 March, another UN body—the Commission on the Status of Women—condemned the terrorist attacks in the Middle East which, it said, sought to "undermine the peace process" and had caused "loss of life ... and injuries among women and their families". In adopting a relevant resolution by a vote of 27 to 2 (Iran, Libya), the Commission also expressed support for the Declaration of the Summit of Peacemakers, held in Sharm El Sheikh, Egypt, on 13 March. Fully supporting its decisions, the Secretary-General, who attended the Summit, expressed the readiness of the UN to assist in implementing them in the legal and practical fields.

The European Union, in a declaration issued on 3 March, appealed to everybody to "give no quarter to the criminal network of those terrorist groups that are trying to hinder the peace process by bloody acts that offend the conscience of mankind".

Shelling deplored, end to hostilities urged

In deploring an 18 April incident, in which Israeli shelling resulted in a heavy loss of life among civilians at a site of the UN Interim Force in

AP/Wide World Photos

A Fijian soldier, injured following the Israeli shelling of the UNIFIL base in Qana, south Lebanon, is being evacuated to nearby Rambam Hospital in Haifa.

Lebanon (UNIFIL), near the village of Qana in southern Lebanon, the Security Council called for an "immediate cessation of hostilities by all parties" and supported the "ongoing diplomatic efforts to this end".

(According to UN Spokesman Sylvana Foa, up to 800 civilians from the area were sheltering in the headquarters of the Fijian battalion when the shells exploded, causing the death of 102 people and wounding several hundred, including four Fijian peace-keepers.)

(Israeli authorities maintained that the shelling of Qana was unintentional and was in retaliation for the launching of Katyusha rockets by the Hezbullah from a position close to the UNIFIL camp.)

The Council on 18 April, by unanimously adopting resolution 1052 (1996), also expressed grave concern at: "all attacks on civilian targets, including residential areas"; consequences which the ongoing fighting could have for the peace and security of the region and for the furthering of the Middle East peace process; and actions which seriously threatened UNIFIL's safety and impeded the implementation of its mandate.

All concerned were called upon to "respect the safety and security of civilians" and of UNIFIL, including its freedom of movement, and to "allow it to fulfil its mandate without any obstacle or interference".

In reaffirming its commitment to Lebanon's territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence within its internationally recognized boundaries, and the security of all States in the region, the Council called upon all concerned "to respect those principles".

The Council called on Member States to offer humanitarian assistance to alleviate the suffering of the population and to assist in the reconstruction of Lebanon. It asked the Secretary-General to ensure that the UN and its agencies "play their part in meeting the humanitarian needs of the civilian population".

The Council adopted the text—sponsored by France, Germany, Honduras, Italy, Poland, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States—after rejecting a draft sponsored by 19 Arab States, that would have strongly condemned Israeli actions against Lebanon.

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 18 April also deplored and condemned the UNIFIL shelling in the strongest possible terms, and said he was dispatching his senior military officer, Major-General Franklin van Kappen of the Netherlands, to conduct an "immediate investigation".

On 7 May, Maj. Gen. van Kappen reported *(S/1996/337)* that it was "unlikely that gross technical and/or procedural errors led to the shelling of the United Nations compound", as claimed by Israel. However, "it cannot be ruled out completely", he said.

On 16 April, the Secretary-General had met with the Palestinian Authority Minister, Faisal Husseini, who had described the serious situation in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem as a result of the Israeli closure of those areas. Mr. Boutros-Ghali expressed deep concern and noted that UN staff had been prevented from travelling to work, as a result of Israeli measures.

At a 17 April meeting with Yossi Beilin, Minister without portfolio in the Office of Israel's Prime Minister, Mr. Boutros-Ghali expressed "deep concern about the deterioration in the Palestinian economy", the continuing hostilities along the Israel-Lebanon border and inside Lebanon, and the "negative impact that this would have on the Middle East peace process".

Mr. Beilin had informed the Secretary-General that his Government had decided to open the borders between Gaza and Egypt, and the West Bank and Jordan, and permit 10,000 Palestinians to work in Israel. He added that the closure had been intended to prevent further attacks.

Assembly urges end to hostilities

The General Assembly on 25 April condemned Israel's attacks on Lebanon's civilian population, especially against the UN base at Qana, called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, and supported the "ongoing diplomatic efforts" to that end. It expressed "grave concern and sorrow over the loss of lives and serious injuries to innocent men, women and children".

In adopting resolution 50/22 C by a

vote of 64 to 2 (Israel, United States), with 65 abstentions, the Assembly also called upon Israel to withdraw its forces from all Lebanese territory and strictly respect Lebanon's territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence within its internationally recognized boundaries. Member States were urged to offer humanitarian assistance to "alleviate the suffering of the population" and help in the reconstruction of Lebanon.

It considered that Lebanon was "entitled to appropriate redress for the destruction" it had suffered, and that Israel was "responsible for such compensation". Also, all concerned were called upon to "respect the safety and security of civilians in conformity with the rules of international humanitarian law".

Council debate

Two meetings—to consider the security measures recently imposed by Israel in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the situation in the Middle East in view of the escalation of tension on the Israeli-Lebanese border—were held by the Security Council on 15 April.

A majority of speakers called for an end to the harsh measures which, in the words of Nasser Al-Kidwa of Palestine, represented a "siege of the Palestinian territory and the strangulation of the Palestinian people and their economy". Some of those measures had "absolutely no relation whatsoever to security considerations", since they had been in practice before the terrorist bombings in Israel, while others could "not be justified even from an Israeli security point of view", he stated.

Gad Yaacobi of Israel said that "during eight terrifying days in February and March", Islamic fundamentalist terrorists from the West Bank and Gaza had perpetrated "four separate suicide bombings within Israel, leaving 59 dead and 200 injured". In response, his Government had imposed a "closure of Israel to residents of the West Bank and Gaza", which was "not a form of collective punishment", but a "measure enacted solely to ensure security for the people of Israel".

Madeleine K. Albright of the United States said the discussion of Israel's closure of the West Bank and Gaza could "only polarize that already difficult situation and distract from the real challenges: how to combat terror, guarantee security, ease the economic dislocation of Palestinians and pursue the process of peacemaking". The Council should not engage in a "divisive rhetorical debate when there is so much work to do", she stressed.

Nabil Elaraby of Egypt said that "demolishing homes and starving Palestinians would not prevent terrorism". Rather, peace would be achieved by raising the living standards of all.

Guilio Terzi di Sant'Agata of Italy, speaking on behalf of the European Union, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Romania and Slovakia, called on Israel to allow humanitarian assistance and materials for the internationally financed reconstruction programme into the territories, under appropriate security safeguards.

Samir Moubarak of Lebanon, one of 32 speakers addressing the second meeting on 15 April, pleaded with Council members to "take action to stop the Israeli military aggression" against his country. Israel was "killing and injuring Lebanese civilians", and there was an "exceedingly large number of displaced persons" from south Lebanon and surrounding areas, he said.

"The new cycle of violence should not be viewed apart from the overall situation in the south and west Bekaa", Mr. Moubarak stated. "It is not the question of who launched first this or that rocket. This is the result of the occupation by Israel in flagrant violation of Security Council resolution 425."

Israeli Ambassador Yaacobi argued that since 1 February, eight Israelis had been killed and 29 wounded by Hezbollah terrorists, and "last week 36 more Israeli civilians were injured in waves of Katyusha rocket attacks" on northern Israel. If Lebanon could not control the activities of Hezbollah, "Israel must defend its security by all necessary measures", he added.

The Secretary-General on 11 April deplored the "escalation of hostilities in Lebanon, in particular the retaliatory attack of the Israeli Defence Forces on Beirut", and regretted the loss of life. He urged the parties to exercise utmost restraint and implement all relevant Council resolutions.

Resolution 1039: UNIFIL extended

The mandate of UNIFIL was extended by the Security Council on 29 January for a further period of six months, until 31 July.

By unanimously adopting resolution 1039 (1996), the Council also called upon all parties concerned to "cooperate fully with the Force for the full implementation of its mandate", condemned "all acts of violence committed in particular against the Force", and urged the parties to put an end to them.

Established in March 1978 under Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), UNIFIL was to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon, restore international peace and security, and assist the Lebanese Government in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area.

In welcoming the streamlining of UNIFIL, due to be completed by May 1996, the Council stressed the need to "continue efforts to achieve further savings by rationalizing the administrative and support services of the Force, provided they do not affect its operational capacity".

In a statement made after the adoption of resolution 1039, Council President Sir John Weston of the United Kingdom said the Council expressed concern over the continuing violence in southern Lebanon, regretted the loss of life, and urged all parties to exercise restraint. It also stressed the urgent need for the implementation of resolution 425 (1978) in all its aspects.

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 22 January had reported *(S/1996/45)* that the situation in southern Lebanon remained "essentially unchanged and continued to be tense and volatile". UNIFIL's mandate, too, "remained unfulfilled". But the Force's "contribution to stability in the area and the protec-

tion it is able to afford the inhabitants remain important", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stressed. Nevertheless, like other peace-keeping operations, UNIFIL was "not an end in itself, but should be viewed in the context of the broader objective of achieving a durable peace".

In that regard, the renewed negotiations between Israel and Syria deserved "every encouragement and support, and it is to be hoped that they will quickly lead to tangible results", the Secretary-General stated.

'Humanitarian crisis'

Beginning 11 April, Lebanon had "again been plunged into a major crisis" involving at least 400,000 displaced persons, or one eighth of the country's total population, Yasushi Akashi, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, told the press on 25 April at Headquarters.

On 19 April, the UN had started "mobilizing emergency humanitarian goods", he stated. Help from the Italian Government had made it possible to ship blankets, water tanks, health kits and other humanitarian materials to Beirut. Switzerland had provided emergency personnel.

Also, a "flash appeal" for some $8.5 million for basic supplies, such as food, water and medical kits, had been launched on 19 April, of which $4.5 million had already been collected, Mr. Akashi added.

UNRWA activities

Serious concern over the negative impact of the West Bank and Gaza Strip closures by Israel on the "health and well-being of the Palestinian refugees in the territories" was expressed on 26 March by Commissioner-General Peter Hansen of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA).

"Inevitably the poorest segments of the Palestinian economy are those immediately and severely affected, and it is these groups of needy Palestinians which are our priority concern", Mr. Hansen stated in Jerusalem, at the conclusion of a five-day fact-finding visit to the area.

UNRWA's operations had been disrupted by restrictions on the movement of staff and supplies, and construction projects—schools, health centres and refugees shelters—had been at a "standstill for three weeks", Mr. Hansen said. West Bank staff were still unable to reach their workplace, and essential stocks, such as medical, food and construction supplies, were winding down. Refugees, he added, accounted for 78 per cent of the population in Gaza, and 38 per cent in the West Bank.

"The most serious shortage is that of buying power", the Commissioner-General stated, since the proscription on Palestinian labourers from working in Israel meant a "stoppage of daily wages".

In response, UNRWA had made an emergency food distribution in Fawwar camp in the West Bank, which was under a tight curfew and remained sealed, Mr. Hansen said. But residents of other camps, both in Gaza and in the West Bank, were also demanding jobs and food.

In Jerusalem, the Commissioner-General had appealed "in writing and in person" to the Israeli authorities at the highest levels for an "easing of the closure and permission for Agency staff movement". He stressed that the restrictions had "crippled UNRWA operations, which support the peace process by providing a certain amount of social and economic stability".

On 18 March, a voluntary contribution of $3.5 million for projects under UNRWA's Peace Implementation Programme in Lebanon and Jordan had been announced by Japan. The $3.5 million brought Japan's support for the Programme to $31 million since October 1993, making it the second largest donor after the United States.

Human rights

Without respect for human rights there could be "no lasting peace, no sustainable development, no successful establishment of democracy in the region", Hannu Halinen of Finland, the Commission on Human Rights' Special Rapporteur on the question of human rights violations in the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine, stated on 20 March.

The Observer for Palestine, addressing the Commission, said that the Israeli policy of inflicting collective punishment was considered a "case of genocide under international law". In addition to the closures of the Palestinian territories, the Israeli occupation authorities still continued to "confiscate Palestinian land and to torture Palestinian detainees".

Israel argued that its security measures were "not collective punishments". They did not violate human rights and were "intended only to stop terror". It was "time for the Palestinians to assume responsibility for human rights in the self-governing areas", it said.

Syria believed that the situation in the occupied Syrian Golan and in other occupied Arab territories continued to deteriorate, and human rights violations there were serious. Israeli colonization still went on, leading to "further violence by settlers and greater suffering and loss by the region's rightful inhabitants", it stated.

Arafat elected President

Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), was elected on 20 January to the Presidency of the Palestinian Council's Executive Authority. The 88 members of the Council were also elected.

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 22 January, in extending his congratulations to Mr. Arafat, also said that those "historic elections, and the widespread participation" by Palestinian voters in the Gaza Strip, West Bank and East Jerusalem constituted an "important step towards the achievement of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, providing a solid base towards their self-determination".

He hoped that the elections would "reinforce the parties' commitment to make further progress in their negotiations in the Middle East peace process, concluding the interim arrangements and reaching agreement on the permanent status issues outlined in the Declaration of Principles signed by Israel and the PLO in September 1993. ■

Summit of Peacemakers

All acts of terror in "all its abhorrent forms, whatever its motivation, and whoever its perpetrator", including the recent terrorist attacks in Israel, were strongly condemned by the Summit of Peacemakers, held on 13 March at Sharm El-Sheikh, Egypt. The gathering was attended by the leaders of 27 nations—the United States, the Russian Federation, Japan and Arab and Western European States—as well as Secretary-General Bóutros Boutros-Ghali.

Through a statement issued by its Co-Chairmen—President William Clinton of the United States and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt—the Summit also pledged to "promote coordination of efforts to stop acts of terror on bilateral, regional and international levels", and exert "maximum efforts to identify and determine the sources of financing" for terrorist organizations and groups, and "cooperate in cutting them off".

By expressing their full support for the Middle East peace process, the participants affirmed their determination to promote security and stability and "prevent the enemies of peace from achieving their ultimate objective of destroying the real opportunity for peace" in the Middle East. Terrorism was "alien to the moral and spiritual values shared by all the peoples of the region", the world leaders stressed, as they reaffirmed their intention to "stand staunchly against all such acts".

AP Wide World Photos

World leaders at the Summit.

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Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at Sharm El-Sheikh.

"Terror and terrorism have declared war against peace and security", Mr. Boutros-Ghali told the Summit on 13 March. They had become a "global phenomenon", because terrorists received arms, funds and instructions from abroad, travelled abroad to be trained, and took "refuge abroad after committing their crime", he stated.

Although world leaders had agreed to "act together to defeat terrorism"—at the 1992 Security Council Summit; at a special commemorative session of the General Assembly in 1995; in a 1994 Declaration on Measures to Eliminate International Terrorism, adopted under Assembly resolution 49/60; and in December 1995, by Assembly resolution 50/53, which urged States to promote and implement the 1994 Declaration—those commitments were "still only declarations", Mr. Boutros-Ghali observed. "The task before us is to take this normative foundation as our platform for rapid and decisive action", he stressed. The UN was "ready to serve this cause—ready to serve as a mechanism for mobilization on a global scale. The United Nations awaits your instructions", the Secretary-General declared. ■

AP Wide World Photos

(From left to right): Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel, President Bill Clinton of the United States, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, President Boris Yeltsin of the Russian Federation and PLO leader Yasser Arafat at the conclusion of their one-day Summit.

'Relatively stable military environment' established by collective endeavour of UN and IFOR

Implementation of political and civilian undertakings ahead

A "relatively stable military environment" for the implementation of extremely complex political and civilian undertakings had been established in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali announced on 21 March.

That had become possible after the military provisions of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina—the Peace Agreement—had been complied with under the "powerful presence" of the multinational Implementation Force (IFOR), he said. However, the military and civilian aspects were interconnected, and "only when the latter goal is achieved can the implementation of the Peace Agreement be considered successful", the Secretary-General reported *(S/1996/210)*.

The new momentum in the four-year-old conflict in the former Yugoslavia had been created by the Bosnian Peace Agreement, negotiated at Dayton, Ohio, and signed in Paris on 14 December 1995, and the 12 November 1995 Basic Agreement on the Region of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium, the Secretary-General said on 6 February *(S/1996/83)*.

It was gratifying that UN expertise and experience had been recognized and new operations—the UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium (UNTAES); the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH), with its International Police Task Force (IPTF); and the UN Mission of Observers in Prevlaka (UNMOP)—had been given appropriate tasks "as part of a collective international endeavour to bring peace where only war has raged", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated.

Until that time and for almost four years, he pointed out, the UN peace-keeping missions in the former Yugoslavia had "worked tirelessly in dangerous and adverse conditions, often without sufficient resources and under complex and demanding mandates". Lightly armed peace-keepers and unarmed civilians had been sent into "areas of active warfare, where their courageous efforts helped to save untold human lives and to alleviate the suffering of the civilian population", the Secretary-General stated.

Also, it had become obvious that a "peace-keeping mission cannot achieve its objectives without the unfailing support and commitment of the international community in terms of financial and human resources required for the implementation of its mandate, as well as the full cooperation of the parties to the conflict", he stressed.

Council action, appointments

From 1 January to 8 May, the Security Council met formally or in consultations on 19 occasions to consider the situation in the former Yugoslavia, adopting five resolutions and issuing four presidential statements.

AP/Wide World Photos

Joseph Schoups, UN military commander in Sector East *(left)*, and Jacques Klein, UN administrator for Sector East *(right)*, cut the ribbon at the Bartovci border crossing on the FRY-Croatian border on 7 May, at the opening of the Belgrade-Zagreb motorway.

Among other things, it established UNTAES and authorized the deployment of 100 military observers for that new operation; increased by 50 military observers the strength of the UN Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia; extended the UN presence in the Prevlaka peninsula; authorized the deployment to UNMIBH of five military liaison officers and two helicopters, with the necessary operating and support personnel; and appointed Justice Louise

UN Photo 191717/Milton Grant

Justice Louise Arbour

Arbour of Canada as Prosecutor for the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia effective 1 October 1996.

On 1 February, the Secretary-General appointed Iqbal Riza of Pakistan as his Special Representative and Coordinator of the UN operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Peter FitzGerald of Ireland was named Commissioner of the IPTF. The post of Secretary-General's Special Representative for the Former Yugoslavia was thus terminated. Residual political support and liaison functions in Croatia and in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) were entrusted to the new Zagreb and Belgrade Liaison Offices.

On 17 January, Jacques Paul Klein of the United States became UNTAES Transitional Administrator, with overall authority over the civilian and military components of the operation. On 13 February, Major General Jozef Schoups of Belgium was named UNTAES Force Commander, with effect from 1 March. Brigadier-General Bo Lennart Wranker of Sweden on 16 February was appointed UNPREDEP Force Commander, also effective 1 March. His compatriot, Colonel Göran Gunnarsson became UNMOP Chief Military Observer on 28 February.

Benefits and problems

The first phase of implementation of the Peace Agreement on Bosnia and Herzegovina, from its signature on 14 December 1995 to the beginning of March 1996, had "highlighted the benefits of peace, as well as the problems we face", High Representative Carl Bildt, the final authority regarding the civilian aspects of the implementation, reported on 13 March *(S/1996/190)*.

IFOR had been able to carry out its tasks as envisaged and thus had supported the complex and long-range efforts at reconciliation, reintegration and reconstruction, Mr. Bildt stated. He stressed that military implementation had been the decisive factor during the first three months, the "prerequisite for all other activities".

The necessary structures for the support to the different civilian implementation efforts, as well as all the Commissions provided for in the Peace Agreement—on refugees and displaced persons, public corporations, and preservation of national monuments—had been set up, he stated.

While the separation of forces had been done successfully with the help of IFOR, political developments surrounding the transfer of territory had been more troubling, he reported. There had been widespread destruction in the areas that were transferred from the Federation to the Republika Srpska in Western Bosnia, and the transition in Sarajevo also faced difficulties, with large numbers of displaced persons as a result. "Three months after the Peace Agreement was signed, we must regrettably conclude that the forces of ethnic separation are still far stronger than the forces of ethnic reintegration", the High Representative stated.

During the next phase of peace implementation, which would cover the period until the Rome Review Conference scheduled for 13 and 14 June, preparations for elections had to be completed. There must be visible signs of the international community living up to its commitment to help with the economic rebuilding of the country, and to see the start of repatriation of refugees and displaced persons, Mr. Bildt stated.

In the third phase, "elections must be at the centre of our efforts", he went on. Although there was an "obvious risk that the elections will strengthen rather than weaken the forces of ethnic separation", they were of crucial importance in paving the way for the setting up of the common political institutions of the country. In that regard, the High Representative was concerned about the right of all political forces to have equal access to the media, especially radio and television.

The most critical, however, would be the fourth phase following the elections, when the "process of setting up the common institutions, in accordance with the detailed and complex arrangements of the Constitution must be initiated", he reported. That would also be the time when IFOR's mandate would be terminated and the future of the Brcko area had to be decided. "It is then that we can judge whether Bosnia is heading for partition or reintegration, and whether the peace we have sought will hold", Mr. Bildt stressed. The successes of the past months were obvious, he declared. "The guns are silent, and life is slowly returning to normalcy. Soldiers are returning home to their families, and politicians can start to address all the problems of peace in contrast to the problems of war."

But he was concerned with two problems: "significant funding shortfalls" for the different civilian implementation efforts, which applied *inter alia* to the UN, election preparations by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and a "range of other important activities"; and the will of the parties themselves. "Without an active effort at reconciliation and cooperation, there will be distinct limits to what the international community can do", High Representative Bildt warned.

"No lasting peace can be built without a genuine commitment to reconciliation, but nothing is as difficult after a war as bitter and brutal as the war in Bosnia has been as this", he stated. "Reconciliation will be possible when there is a common perception that justice for all will be created, and when the energies and efforts of the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina are concentrated less on the legacies of the bitter past than on the promise of a common future", Mr. Bildt declared.

IFOR operations

On 18 April—D+120, or 120 days after the transfer of authority from the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) to the multinational Implementation Force (IFOR)—"we passed a major milestone in the implementation of

annex 1-A to the Peace Agreement", Javier Solana, Secretary-General of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), informed Mr. Boutros-Ghali on 23 April *(S/1996/315)*.

AP/Wide World Photos

A released Croatian Serb prisoner of war gets an emotional welcome from his family upon arrival in Belgrade.

While, in general, Mr. Solana was "satisfied with the cooperation and compliance" of the parties in implementing the accord's military aspects, he also noted practical difficulties in their efforts to comply with the D+120 requirements relating to cantonment and demobilization of forces. "Compliance has proved to be difficult within this time-scale, as the scale and complexity of this task have exceeded the military organizational capabilities of the Parties", the NATO Secretary-General noted.

Also, it remained "unclear whether full compliance has been achieved on the removal of foreign forces", he went on. Another cause for concern was restrictions on the freedom of movement of civilians, refugees and displaced persons.

On the positive side, a major release of prisoners of war by all parties had taken place in early April, Mr. Solana reported. However, each side continued to hold a number of prisoners, although in many cases they had provided the International Tribunal dossiers on those individuals for "possible investigation as war criminals".

Regrettably, tensions continued, he stated, and they might grow more acute as thousands of refugees and displaced persons began their repatriation. The success of IFOR remained "closely linked to the success of the civilian mission, particularly concerning the elections and economic reconstruction", he stressed.

As of 23 April, IFOR comprised approximately 55,000 personnel, from all nations of NATO and 16 non-NATO countries, the report said. Its air assets continued to provide "sufficient capability to secure the airspace, defend and support IFOR ground forces and monitor compliance", and its maritime assets also remained deployed in its support.

On 22 March, Mr. Solana had reported *(S/1996/215)* that IFOR also provided a "capability for close air support" to UNTAES. With regard to the implementation of the civil aspects of the Agreement, which were "crucial to its success", IFOR was assisting the High Representative and international organizations, such as the OSCE, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), in their relevant efforts, Mr. Solana said. General support to all civil agencies included the "exchange of information and security advice and, in emergency, the provision of medical and repair facilities, fuel, accommodation and food, based on retrospective repayment arrangements", he reported.

IFOR continued to support, within the limits of its assigned principal tasks and available resources, the International Tribunal's efforts to bring those indicted to trial. A recent example was the "transport and escort protection" to the Tribunal team investigating a mass grave site in the Prijedor Opstina area. The Force was also undertaking air reconnaissance and area ground surveillance of suspected mass grave sites and would report any tampering which it detected to the Tribunal, Mr. Solana stated. In addition, IFOR was supporting the IPTF in Bosnia by providing quick reaction forces and other forms of assistance.

In a 26 February report *(S/1996/131)*, the NATO Secretary-General said that the cooperation with Bosnian Serb authorities had been "set back following the detention by the Bosnian Government of suspected Bosnian Serb war criminals at the beginning of February". The issue had been addressed with the Presidents of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia during their summit meeting in Rome on 17 and 18 February.

"Operation Joint Endeavour has started well and we see prospects for long-term success in the implementation of the military aspects of the Peace Agreement", Mr. Solana stated on 23 January *(S/1996/49)*. "Our actions have remained even-handed and this has had a significant impact on the acceptance of IFOR by the parties and their cooperation with our forces throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina", he said.

Resolution 1037: UNTAES established

A new peace-keeping operation in Croatia—the UN Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja

and Western Sirmium (UNTAES)—with both military and civilian components, was established by the Security Council on 15 January, for an initial period of 12 months.

By unanimously adopting resolution 1037 (1996), the Council also decided that the demilitarization of the region, as provided in the 12 November Basic Agreement between the Croatian Government and the local Serbian community, "shall be completed within 30 days" from the date the Secretary-General informed the Council that the UNTAES military component had been deployed and was ready to undertake its mission. No later than 14 days after the date on which the demilitarization was due to be completed, the Council would review whether the parties had shown a willingness to implement the Basic Agreement. If they had "significantly failed to comply with their obligations", it might reconsider the Administration's mandate.

UN operations in the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

The operation's military component—a "force with an initial deployment of up to 5,000 troops"—was to: supervise the demilitarization; monitor the voluntary and safe return of refugees and displaced persons to their home of origin, in cooperation with the UNHCR; contribute, by its presence, to the maintenance of peace and security in the region; and "otherwise to assist in implementation of the Basic Agreement".

The UNTAES civilian component was to: establish and train a temporary police force and monitor the treatment of offenders and the prison system; carry out civil administration tasks and restore public services; facilitate the return of refugees and displaced persons; organize elections and certify their results; and help coordinate plans for the region's development and economic reconstruction.

Also, UNTAES was to monitor the parties' compliance with their commitment to respect the highest standards of human rights and fundamental freedoms, promote an "atmosphere of confidence among all local residents irrespective of their ethnic origin", monitor and facilitate the demining of territory within the region, and maintain an "active public affairs element".

In calling upon the parties to comply strictly with their obligations under the Basic Agreement and cooperate with UNTAES, the Council strongly urged them to "refrain from any unilateral actions", which could hinder the handover from the UN Confidence Restoration Operation (UNCRO) to UNTAES, and encouraged them to "continue to adopt confidence-building measures to promote an environment of mutual trust".

Member States, acting nationally or through regional organizations, might take all necessary measures, including close air support, in defence of UNTAES to help in its withdrawal. UNTAES and IFOR were also asked to "cooperate, as appropriate, with each other", as well as with High Representative Carl Bildt.

Resolution 1043: 100 observers for UNTAES

On 31 January, the Council authorized the deployment of 100 military observers for six months, as part of UNTAES. It acted by unanimously adopting resolution 1043 (1996).

The Secretary-General on 26 January had informed the Council *(S/1996/66)* that observers were needed to "enable UNTAES to supervise and facilitate the demilitarization" of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium, as provided for in the 1995 Basic Agreement.

Recalling his 13 December 1995 recommendation for sending some 9,300 combat troops to the region, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali stated that that concept did not require the deployment of UN military observers. However, he went on, in view of a "more limited presence", there was a need for 100 UN military observers, who would "identify the units and equipment to be demilitarized and monitor and verify the implementation of demilitarization", and report on "any developments relevant to the maintenance of peace and security in the region".

Resolution 1046: UNPREDEP increased

An increase by 50 military personnel in the strength of the UN Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP) in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), to provide for a "continued engineering capability in support of its operations", was authorized by the Council on 13 February.

In unanimously adopting resolution 1046 (1996), the Council also agreed *(S/1996/94)* with the Secretary-General's view that UNPREDEP should have 1,050 contingent personnel, 35 military observers, 26 civilian police, and 73 international civilian and 127 locally-recruited staff.

In his 30 January report *(S/1996/65)*, Mr. Boutros-Ghali had recommended that UNPREDEP become an independent mission, with

basically the same mandate, reporting directly to UN Headquarters in New York. In that regard, the Force would be faced with the "twofold task of maintaining its ongoing programmes, while at the same time restructuring for a 'stand-alone' operation".

A key priority in ongoing programmes would be "engineering operations, which include both building and road maintenance components", the Secretary-General said. Another priority was the communications infrastructure, which, because of the "poor quality and congestion" of local telephone lines, would "need to be improved through the establishment of satellite links, including a direct satellite link" with UN Headquarters, he added.

There was also a need for an improved local planning capability, as well as enhanced hardware/software expertise and system management capabilities, the Secretary-General reported. Provision would be made for independent finance, procurement, personnel, UN security and general services offices.

Member States, donor countries and international institutions should not lose sight of the importance of the international economic assistance and should support the FYROM's efforts to "overcome the effects of the special economic problems" arising from the implementation of sanctions against the FRY, Mr. Boutros-Ghali stressed.

The original purpose of UNPREDEP's deployment was to "counter a possible impact of the conflicts engulfing other areas of the former Yugoslavia", he stated. "At present, although the fighting has ceased and there is little evidence of a direct or immediate threat to the Republic, the effect of the existing tensions has not totally abated and the danger of fragmentation has not been averted", the Secretary-General observed. Therefore, the world community's continued commitment to multilateral efforts towards stability in the Balkan region was vital, he declared. In a longer perspective, however, the "litmus test of internal peace and stability will be the ability of all social, ethnic and political groups in the country to advance effective processes for the construction of a civil society capable of solving disputes through legal, peaceful means", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said.

On 8 April, an Agreement on the regulation of relations and the promotion of cooperation between the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) and the FYROM was signed in Belgrade.

AP/Wide World Photos

Foreign Minister Ljubomir Frckovski of the FYROM *(left)* and Milan Milutinovic, his counterpart from the FRY *(right)*, sign an accord establishing full diplomatic relations, on 8 April in Belgrade.

Resolution 1038: UNMOP extended

By resolution 1038 (1996) of 15 January, the Security Council authorized the UN Military Operation in Prevlaka (UNMOP) to continue monitoring the demilitarization of the area for a period of three months, to be "extended for an additional period of three months upon a report by the Secretary-General that such extension would continue to contribute to the decrease of tension there". On 14 March, having received such a report, the Council authorized that extension.

A joint declaration reaffirming their agreement to the demilitarization of the Prevlaka peninsula had been signed on 30 September 1992 by the Presidents of Croatia and the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro). In that accord, they agreed that the Yugoslav Army, as the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) was then called, would withdraw completely from Croatia. Prevlaka—a peninsula in Croatia which borders Bosnia and Herzegovina and the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro)—would be demilitarized and heavy weapons would be removed from neighbouring areas of Croatia and Montenegro.

On 21 October 1992, the Secretary-General had informed the Council that the Yugoslav Army had completed its withdrawal from all Croatian territory, and UNPROFOR military observers had been stationed on the Prevlaka peninsula, "where the United Nations flag was flying".

On 12 March 1996, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali reported *(S/1996/180)* that UNMOP had become a separate mission under Colonel Gunnarsson's command, and had continued to carry out daily patrols and conduct regular weekly meetings with local military and police commanders in Dubrovnic and Herceg-Novi. The Chief Military Observer and his Deputy had also attended higher-level meetings with political, religious and cultural leaders in the area and with general staff officers in

Zagreb and Belgrade, in order to "promote confidence and improve the prospects for a solution", he said.

Area of potential confrontation

The Prevlaka peninsula remained a "tense but stable area of potential confrontation" between Croatia and the FRY, the Secretary-General stated. Nevertheless, all parties had expressed their desire to resolve their differences by negotiation. The process had accelerated over the past few months, with both sides considering practical confidence-building measures that would decrease tension and allow the full economic and tourist potential of the area to be realized, he said.

The parties, while agreeing that the presence of international observers was an "important reassurance, which contributes to the decrease of tension and to a more positive atmosphere for negotiations", did not agree on which international organization should perform that task, the Secretary-General noted. If UNMOP was to monitor the demilitarization agreement effectively, it was essential that the parties improve cooperation with it, he stressed.

Of particular concern, Mr. Boutros-Ghali went on, were the violations in the blue zone—a demilitarized area on either side of the Croatian/FRY border intended to be controlled exclusively by the UN, with no access for either parties—which had been "steadily increasing in recent months". While there were "no indications of hostile military action", the Secretary-General was concerned that those violations, if allowed to remain unchecked, could lead to an increase in tension and possible conflict in the area.

Therefore, in the absence of further progress between the parties on a negotiated resolution of their differences and in the absence of agreement on an alternative organization to monitor the area, he believed that UNMOP's continued presence would contribute to the decrease of tension.

While all the parties appeared committed to a peaceful solution of the Prevlaka issue, Croatia preferred a mission under OSCE auspices, in order to remove the impression which it believed was created by the UN presence that the area was disputed and under the threat of military confrontation, the Secretary-General reported.

AP/Wide World Photos

IFOR provides "powerful presence", according to Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali.

President Bulatovic of Montenegro, however, had indicated that OCSE monitoring was not acceptable as long as the FRY did not have full membership in that organization. Both he and President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia had expressed satisfaction with the present UNMOP mandate and "appealed for its renewal" while negotiations with Croatia were continuing.

Also, Special Representative Iqbal Riza, in discussions with OSCE officials, had been informed that OSCE would "not be in a position to accept responsibility for monitoring the demilitarization of the peninsula in the near future", the report said.

UNMIBH reinforced

The deployment of two military helicopters, with the "necessary operating and support personnel", from Ukraine, in order to meet the air transport requirements of the UN Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (UNMIBH), was authorized by the Council on 22 March.

On 7 March, the Council had endorsed the Secretary-General's proposal to deploy five military liaison officers to UNMIBH, so as to strengthen its liaison arrangements with IFOR. The officers were to report to the Special Representative and assist him in the discharge of his responsibilities.

Reconciliation urged

The Security Council on 4 April demanded that the Bosnian parties fully implement the Peace Agreement and demonstrate a "genuine commitment to confidence and security-building measures, regional arms control, reconciliation and the building of a common future".

In a statement *(S/PRST/1996/15)* by its President, Juan Somavia of Chile, the Council also demanded that they "comply fully, unconditionally and without any further delay" with their commitments regarding the release of prisoners, implementation of the constitutional framework, withdrawal of foreign forces, ensuring freedom of movement, cooperation with the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, return of refugees, and respect for human rights and international humanitarian law.

In noting "in general, satisfactory compliance with the military aspects" of the Peace Agreement and, on the whole, that its implementation was proceeding according to the established timetable, the Council stressed that "now the main emphasis in implemen-

tation efforts by the international community and the Bosnian parties themselves should shift to the civil aspects".

It called upon the authorities concerned with the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to "move forward vigorously on measures to strengthen that Federation" and, to that end, to implement in full the Sarajevo Agreement, concluded on 30 March under the High Representative's auspices.

In that accord, the parties, among other things, had stressed *(S/1996/244)* that "concrete implementation steps" were needed and reiterated the "importance of action by IFOR to eliminate all illegal internal customs, military and other checkpoints". They also recommended to the Federation Parliament to consider the "annexed specimens as the future Federation flag and coat of arms", and called upon IFOR, the Commission of the European Union, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to "continue their close cooperation in surveying the military, physical and economic feasibility of opening additional commercial routes into Federation territory from various directions".

Concerns remain

Also, by the Council's 4 April presidential statement, it expressed particular concern at the failure by all Bosnian parties to comply fully with the provisions of the Peace Agreement concerning the release of prisoners. The Council stressed that those obligations were "unconditional", and failure to meet them constituted a "serious case of non-compliance".

Full support was expressed for the High Representative, UNMIBH, including its Police Task Force, and the Mine Action Center, as well as for other international institutions and organizations involved. It affirmed that the Agreement's implementation "must be strict, just and impartial".

In recognizing that economic reconstruction and rehabilitation throughout Bosnia were key factors for the overall success of the peace implementation process, reconciliation and reintegration, which required the parties' political will, as well as substantial international assistance, the Council urged that "priority be given to projects aimed at facilitating the process of reconciliation and the economic reintegration of the whole country".

While calling upon States and international institutions to honour fully their commitments regarding economic and financial assistance to Bosnia, the Council affirmed that it was the parties themselves that had the most important role in re-establishing their country's economy.

Deep concern was expressed over recent developments in the Sarajevo area, which had caused thousands of Bosnian Serb civilians to leave their homes. The Council called upon the parties to make greater efforts towards reconciliation and the reconstitution of a multicultural and multi-ethnic Sarajevo, as a city of Bosniacs, Serbs, Croats and others, and as the capital and seat of the future common institutions. It further called on the parties to put in place additional measures to ensure security, freedom of movement and conditions for the return of people affected in Sarajevo and all other transferred areas, and "reverse the trend of population movements and partition efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina along ethnic lines".

Resources needed

Adequate and appropriate resources for UN missions in the former Yugoslavia remained of "crucial importance", the Secretary-General said on 6 February *(S/1996/83)*. He was particularly concerned that the major international effort in Bosnia "should not obscure and deflect the need for substantial resources" for UNTAES in Croatia. For "failure in Croatia would not only have disastrous consequences for the local population, but could also seriously undermine and even lead to the failure of international operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, sowing the seeds for renewal of military contention following the withdrawal of IFOR", Mr. Boutros-Ghali warned.

In Croatia, the primary responsibility for protecting the human rights of all its people, including minorities—the observance of which was the "fundamental building block of democracy, stability and international acceptability for all States"—lay with the Government, he stressed. But with the end of UNCRO, it was "now up to other organizations and regional institutions to continue to meet the international community's concerns about respect for the human rights of minorities".

In Bosnia, the "prospect of a major Serb exodus" from parts of Sarajevo in advance of the return to government control under the Peace Agreement was a "matter of great concern". The Secretary-General hoped that the combined international presence and effort, together with the full support and credible guarantees and actions by the Government, would create "sufficient confidence for those Serbs to remain and for those who have already left to return". In that context, he went on, the practice of destruction of property and possessions prior to departure was "both short-sighted and inadvisable, in that it minimizes the possibility of return and reduces the chances of compensation for property voluntarily abandoned and destroyed".

The Secretary-General was also concerned at the continuing difficulties on the ground in establishing the Bosniac-Croat Federation as a "viable and harmonious entity". While there appeared to be full commitment at the intergovernmental level, it would require "constant nurturing, encouragement and support at the local level if it is to function as one of the two pillars" of the Peace Agreement, he observed. An experienced UN presence throughout Bosnia, working in close cooperation with IFOR and the High Representative, would make a "substantial contribution to this common cause".

In making the necessary arrangements for the new UN missions established pursuant to Council resolutions 1035 (1995), 1037 (1995) and 1038 (1996), the Secretary-General intended to maintain a "sufficient, but lean and cost-effective, staffing structure" appropriate to their mandates.

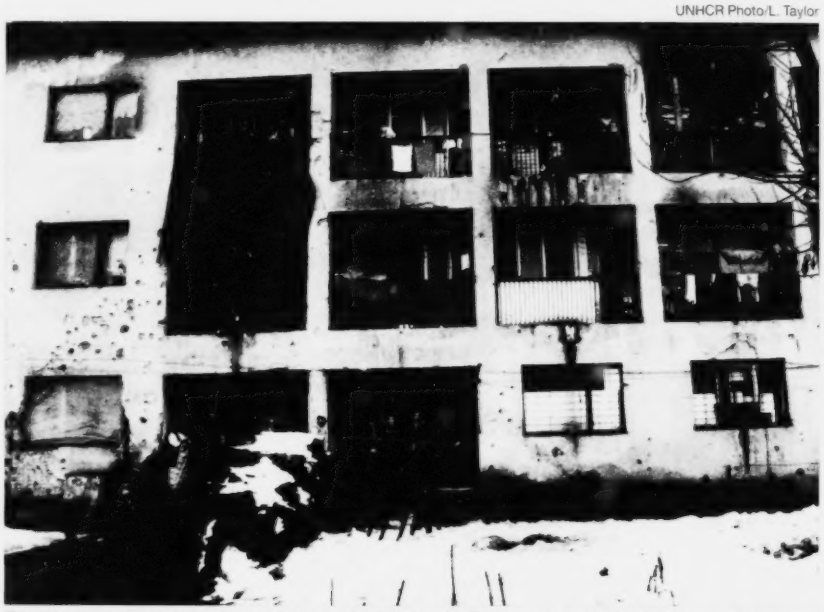
Sarajevo

The underlying forces that had led to the exodus of the Bosnian Serb pop-

ulation of Sarajevo were the "bitterness, fears and hatred created by the past four years of war", the Secretary-General said on 29 March *(S/1996/210)*.

However, Bosnian Serb and Federation authorities bore a "great responsibility for this set-back, as they did not show any determination to reassure and persuade the Serb population to stay on", he stressed. That had resulted in another round of population movements along ethnic lines, further separating Bosnian Serbs and Bosniacs and delivering a "telling blow to the multicultural nature of Sarajevo society", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said.

UNHCR Photo/L. Taylor



Repair and reconstruction of many buildings in Sarajevo, which had been damaged during the war, must start as soon as possible in order to accomodate returnees.

The possibility still remained that a number of the Bosnian Serb Sarajevans, who had left and "now find themselves in difficult conditions in their new environment", might consider returning to Sarajevo "if they feel that conditions there are secure enough, especially if they can regain access to their homes upon return". The Federation authorities, however, would have to adopt a "radically different policy towards reconciliation if they wish to encourage the reconstitution of a multicultural Sarajevo", the Secretary-General declared.

The restoration of "some degree of confidence at the political level" between the Federation and Republika Srpska was also essential, but that might be impeded by the "deep wounds and distrust left by the conflict at the individual human level, as well as by current political calculations", he observed. "Healing, however, must be encouraged by conciliatory decisions and actions by the leadership of both sides."

The persistent strains between them were also a major cause for concern, the Secretary-General pointed out. A territorial dispute in western Bosnia, disagreement over the status of Sarajevo, frictions between the two police forces and failure of the parties to implement earlier agreements on economic and political matters had all exacerbated existing difficulties.

"Unless the two communities made determined and sustained efforts to avoid conflict, establish cantons as agreed and strengthen Federation structures, divisive trends will increase", he warned. "This will not only further weaken the Federation, but will have repercussions on the structure of the State of Bosnia and Herzegovina."

It was in the midst of those tensions that UNMIBH and the IPTF were operating, the Secretary-General said. It was, therefore, "not feasible to assign to this unarmed force the task of enforcing law and order in a country awash with weapons, all the more so when it has no legal authority to do so", he noted.

Finally, "peace cannot be durable unless it is accompanied with justice", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated. "Following one of the most bitter wars in Europe since 1945, with unspeakable atrocities against civilians reaching to the level of crimes against humanity, those individuals indicted by the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia must be brought to trial", he stressed. "Peace with justice is an overriding goal of the international community, and it is the legal and moral duty of all signatories to the Peace Agreement to assist in its attainment."

Tribute to ICFY

The Security Council members on 11 January, in taking note that the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY)—established in August 1992 to "remain in being until a settlement of the problems" in that region—would "cease to exist as of 31 January 1996", conveyed their appreciation to the Co-Chairmen of the ICFY Steering Committee for their work, as well as for the Conference's important role in efforts to bring peace to the former Yugoslavia.

In their final report of 30 December 1995 *(S/1996/4)*, Co-Chairmen Carl Bildt of the European Union and Thorvald Stoltenberg of the UN had said that the ICFY had continued to provide a "valuable framework for peacemaking, peace-building and humanitarian and human rights activities" in the war-torn former Yugoslavia. Those included: the operation of the ICFY Mission, which since September 1994 had watched over the closure by the FRY of its border at areas of Bosnia controlled by the Bosnian Serbs; cooperation with the Contact Group countries—France, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States—in finding a settlement for Bosnia and Eastern Slavonia in Croatia; alerting the international community to "pressing humanitarian issues"; promotion of dialogue on hu-

man rights for ethnic communities, nationalities and minorities; and consideration of economic and reconstruction issues.

Sanctions suspended, arms embargo modified

Sanctions imposed on the Bosnian Serb party were suspended indefinitely, starting on 27 February, it was announced that day by Juan Somavia of Chile, Chairman of the Security Council Sanctions Committee established pursuant to resolution 724 (1991).

The suspension took effect after the Council, in accordance with resolution 1022 (1995), had been informed on 26 February through the appropriate political authorities that, in the assessment of the IFOR Commander, Bosnian Serb forces had withdrawn from the zones of separation established in the Peace Agreement.

At the same time, the embargo on deliveries of weapons and military equipment to all constituent republics of the former Yugoslavia continued to remain in force, in accordance with Council resolution 1021 (1995), Mr. Somavia said.

In a 14 March statement, he declared that 13 March 1996 was to be the "date of termination of all provisions of the embargo on deliveries of weapons and military equipment" imposed by resolution 713 (1991), except those related to the delivery of heavy weapons, including tanks and armoured vehicles, artillery and mortars, and ammunition for such weapons, mines, military aircraft and helicopters. The delivery of those items into Bosnia, Croatia, the FRY, FYROM and Slovenia would "continue to be prohibited until the fulfilment of terms stipulated in resolution 1021 (1995)", or until the 180th day following the 14 December 1995 signing of the Peace Agreement, Mr. Somavia announced.

On 26 March at Headquarters, the Sanctions Committee was briefed by Frederick Racké, the European Union/OSCE Sanctions Coordinator, and Richardt Vork, Director of the Sanctions Assistance Missions Communications Centre (SAMCOMM), on their activities following the adoption of Council resolutions 1021 (1995) and 1022 (1995).

In describing the steps involved in the "gradual downscaling of the sanctions assistance operation in such a way as to maintain a credible sanctions reimposition capability in the event of significant breaches of the Peace Agreement", Mr. Racké stated that the sanctions had "significantly contributed to the achievement of a negotiated peace in the region". Dr. Vork said that, while the sanctions were suspended, SAMCOMM would, among other things, participate in assisting the Bosnian Government in building a unified customs system.

'Extensive harassment'

Violations of international humanitarian law and human rights in the former sectors North and South in Croatia, including "killings of several hundreds of civilians, systematic and widespread looting and arson and other forms of destruction of property", were strongly condemned by the Security Council on 8 January.

In a statement *(S/PRST/1996/2)* by its President, Sir John Weston of the United Kingdom, the Council also expressed deep concern over a "considerable discrepancy" between the numbers of perpetrators so far brought to justice and reported violations. It urged Croatia to make "every effort to arrest all perpetrators and bring them promptly to trial".

In recalling with dismay that failure of Croatia to transfer to the International Tribunal's custody persons indicted by it, the Council expressed "concern at the recent appointment of one of those indicted to a position in the Croatian army".

It was also disturbed by the humanitarian and security situation of the mostly elderly Serb population remaining in the former sectors in Croatia, and gravely concerned at the information on "continuing extensive harassment and intimidation, looting of property and other forms of abuse". In that regard, Croatia was told to take urgent measures to stop all such acts immediately and provide urgently needed food, medical assistance and proper shelter to the Serb population.

Since the rights of Serbs who had fled during the Croatian military operation in August 1995 to return to their homes in safety and dignity were being "severely curtailed by the absence of constructive measures to facilitate their return", the Council demanded that Croatia respect fully their rights, including the "right to remain, leave or return in safety", and create conditions conducive to their return. Croatia was also urged to refrain from any measure which would adversely affect the exercise of the right to return.

By reaffirming its call on Croatia to "lift any time-limits placed on the return of refugees to reclaim their property", the Council took note of Croatia's 27 December 1995 decision to suspend the deadline set in its relevant law as a "step in the right direction".

It also noted with appreciation Croatia's 30 December 1995 decision to "suspend criminal proceedings against and release 455 local Serb detained on suspicion of armed rebellion", and urged for appropriate measures to ensure that the right to a fair trial of those Serbs who remained and had been arrested and accused of war crimes or armed rebellion was safeguarded.

In stressing that respect for the rights of persons belonging to the Serb minority would be of great importance in implementing the Basic Agreement on Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium, the Council urged Croatia to "rescind its decision to suspend several articles of the 'Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Freedoms, and the Rights of National and Ethnic Communities in the Republic of Croatia'".

Full rights for Serbs urged

On 23 February, the Security Council acknowledged that the incidence of human rights violations in Croatia had been "greatly reduced", but expressed concern over "isolated incidents of killings and other violations of human rights".

Through a statement by Council President Madeleine K. Albright, it also demanded that Croatia take mea-

sures to ensure that the local Serb population might fully exercise their rights, including their right to remain, leave or return to their homes in safety and dignity, and reclaim possession of their property, which "cannot be made conditional" upon an agreement on the normalization of relations between Croatia and the FRY.

In expressing its deep concern at the situation of refugees from Croatia who wished to return, the Council called upon the Government to "ensure the expeditious processing of all requests from refugees" and proceed with the establishment of a "provisional human rights court".

In acknowledging the significant progress made by the Government in alleviating the humanitarian plight of the mostly elderly Serb population remaining in Croatia, the Council looked to the Government to ensure the security and well-being of that population and "pursue vigorously prosecutions against those suspected of past violations of international humanitarian law and human rights against the local Serb minority".

Croatia was also called upon to give due consideration to "granting amnesty to local Serbs remaining in detention on charges arising from their alleged participation in the conflict".

Potential for recurrence

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 14 February had reported *(S/1996/109)* that "potential for recurrence" of human rights violations in the former sectors in Croatia remained substantial, and the "continuing absence of a strong and responsible local police presence" was still a cause for concern.

Although, according to Croatia, a large number of judicial proceedings had been instituted with respect to crimes and human rights violations allegedly committed in the aftermath of the military operations, mostly against Croatian Serbs, "many reported cases of killings are unresolved, and there is scant evidence of trials concerning acts of arson or looting being brought to conclusion", he said. "It will be important to continue to monitor the judicial process to ensure that the widespread criminality documented by international observers last year does not go unredressed", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated.

With UNCRO's termination on 15 January, the number of international personnel in Croatia had been drastically reduced and limited to a small team of officers from the UNHCR, the Centre for Human Rights and international NGO representatives, the Secretary-General noted. The UN's ability to assess further developments on the human rights issues "will accordingly be very limited".

Resolution 1047: New Tribunal Prosecutor

Louise Arbour of Canada on 29 February was named Prosecutor of the International Tribunal for the Prosecution of Persons Responsible for Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law Committed in the Territory of the Former Yugoslavia and the International Tribunal for Rwanda.

In unanimously adopting resolution 1047 (1996), the Security Council also noted with regret the resignation of Justice Richard J. Goldstone of South Africa, and decided that Mrs. Arbour would take over the post "with effect from the date on which Mr. Goldstone's resignation takes effect", on 1 October 1996.

FRY non-compliance

The Security Council on 8 May expressed its "profound concern at recent instances of failure to cooperate" with the International Tribunal, and in particular the failure of the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) to do so.

In a statement by Council President, Qin Huasun of China, it also deplored the FRY's "failure to date" to execute arrest warrants issued by the Tribunal against three individuals—Mile Mrksic, Miroslav Radic and Veselin Sljivancanin—and called for the execution of those warrants without delay. It also called upon all States which had not done so to make provision in their domestic law enabling them to "comply with their obligations with respect to cooperation with the Tribunal".

Tribunal President Antonio Cassese on 24 April had informed the Council *(S/1996/319)* that the individuals in question were "charged with the murder of 260 civilians and other unarmed men" following the fall of Vukovar, Croatia, in November 1991.

As the Tribunal had been established in 1993 by virtue of Chapter VII of the UN Charter, all Member States were "under an obligation to assist it, notably by complying with its orders", and the cooperation of the States of the former Yugoslavia was "particularly imperative: without such cooperation, few accused would ever be delivered to The Hague to stand trial", he stressed. "To this day, however, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) has not executed a single arrest warrant addressed to it", the Tribunal President stated. It was therefore his duty to bring FRY's non-compliance to the attention of the Council so that it could decide upon the appropriate response.

Tragic crash

The Security Council on 4 April, through a presidential statement, paid tribute to all those people who had given their lives in the cause of peace in the former Yugoslavia and expressed condolences to their families, including the family of Ronald H. Brown, United States Secretary of Commerce, who was among the 33 people killed in a military plane crash in Croatia on 3 April. Mr. Brown headed a delegation of American corporate executives.

On 3 April, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali said he was "shocked and saddened" to learn the news of the crash. Mr. Brown's mission was "particularly important and deeply appreciated in view of the desperate need of the peoples of the former Yugoslavia for international assistance in their process of peace building", he stated.

End of Sarajevo airlift

The Sarajevo airlift—the longest-running humanitarian air bridge in history, launched by the UNHCR on 3 July 1992—ended on 9 January 1996, with final deliveries made from the Agency's warehouse in Ancona, Italy.

A total of 160,677 metric tons of aid, including 144,827 metric tons of food and 15,850 metric tons of medicine, equipment and other supplies, had been flown into Sarajevo during the three-and-a-half-year operation. On 8 October 1993, it had surpassed in duration the Berlin airlift of 1948-1949, UNHCR reported.

Throughout many months of war, the airlift provided more than 85 per cent of all aid reaching the Bosnian capital. It had been Sarajevo's lifeline and a "constant reminder to the hundreds of thousands of brave residents of the city that they were not forgotten", High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata declared on 5 January in Geneva. "Without a doubt, the airlift saved tens of thousands of people and kept the city alive through three winters of war", she added.

"When UNHCR began this airlift in July 1992, we never dreamed it would have to go on as long as it did", Mrs. Ogata stated. "We have looked forward to the end of the airlift for a long, long time. Every day of war and siege and suffering meant another day of flying. Now that it is finally over, I want to again pay tribute to those who died in this truly noble international effort to keep a brave city alive, and to honour the thousands of people from many countries and organizations who made it a success", she said.

Of some 20 nations that had participated in the airlift since it began, five countries had flown regularly, UNHCR announced and those were: the United States (4,597), France (2,133), the United Kingdom (1,902), Canada (1,860 flights), and Germany (1,279). Italy had also been a crucial participant, providing planes and facilities at Ancona. Among other countries participating were: Norway, Sweden, Algeria, Belgium, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, the Netherlands, Germany, Greece, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Denmark, Turkey and Kuwait.

In addition, a number of organizations—most notably, Médecins sans Frontiers, Médecins du Monde, the ICRC, the United Kingdom Overseas Development Administration, the Federation of Red Cross/Red Crescent Societies, and the Soros Foundation—had taken part in the effort.

According to UNHCR, there had been more than 270 security incidents involving the airlift, with the worst single one being the downing of an Italian Air Force G-222 cargo plane on 3 September 1992, killing all four crewmen on board. A subsequent Italian Government investigation had determined that the plane had been struck by a surface-to-air missile fired by an unknown source about 17 miles from Sarajevo.

Altogether, UNHCR had delivered over 1.1 million tons of humanitarian assistance to more than 3.5 million people in the former Yugoslavia since 1991, with about 80 per cent going to Bosnia, where the Agency had 2.7 million beneficiaries under its care. Most of the aid was carried by convoy, but UNHCR also used the Sarajevo airlift and airdrops—more than 20,000 metric tons, overall—to besieged communities like Gorazde and Bihac.

The Agency continued its humanitarian aid programme in the former Yugoslavia and, in accordance with the Peace Agreement, would be responsible for the return of some 2 million refugees and displaced persons to Bosnia.

Tensions near Bihac

Tensions were rising near the Bihac area, as three buses of Muslims, who intended to visit the grave-sites of their relatives, had been stopped by a crowd of 100 Bosnian Serbs armed with sticks and stones, UN Spokesman Sylvanna Foa announced on 29 April.

To defuse the situation, IFOR had intervened and cautioned the passengers in the buses to "avoid their visit" and, with IPTF, "discouraged muslim refugees from entering Bosnian Serb territories in order to avoid problems", she said. Ms. Foa also announced that an IPTF patrol had confirmed the existence of a mass grave in Kulen Vakuf, near Bihac.

Consolidated appeal

A consolidated inter-agency appeal for $823 million to assist refugees, internally displaced persons and other war-affected people to rebuild their lives following years of conflict, which had devastated communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the neighbouring republics, was launched by 11 UN agencies on 1 March.

The revised appeal—the first since the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement and the first to include repatriation—addressed the most pressing needs for 1996 in Bosnia, Croatia, the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro), the FYROM and Slovenia.

The humanitarian assistance programme is part of the UN's contribution to the implementation of the peace process in the region, as well as a crucial component in the international community's efforts to help more than 3 million people "replace the despair of war with the hope of a lasting peace", according to the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs (DHA).

Of the total amount called for, $181 million had been available as of 31 January, leaving a shortfall of $642 million, the DHA reported.

In a foreword to the appeal, High Commissioner Ogata and DHA's Under-Secretary-General Akashi noted that various military and civilian components of the Dayton plan "must continue to work in harmony", because each element was crucial to overall success. "Success in one area will undoubtedly facilitate progress in other areas", they stressed.

Under the Dayton Agreement, UNHCR was responsible for the return of some 2 million refugees and displaced persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Many of them would be returning to "villages lacking adequate infrastructure, shelter and employment opportunities, making it necessary to continue some relief assistance during the settling-in and reconstruction period", the Agency announced. ■

Serious war crimes should be dealt with by Permanent International Criminal Court,

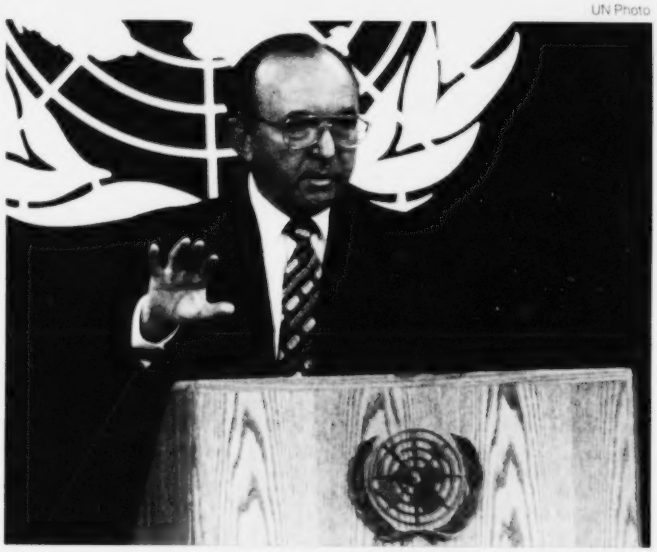
says Justice Richard Goldstone

A UN Chronicle *interview with the Prosecutor of the International Tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda*

Q: *The concept of an international criminal court for crimes against humanity, initially tested after the Second World War with the Nuremberg and Tokyo War Crimes Tribunals, has been recently revived with regard to the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. How effective do you think the whole idea is?*

A: The experience of the two ad hoc tribunals is very relevant. And we all in The Hague and Kigali, in doing work for our tribunals and in judging how effective an international criminal court can be, feel that additional responsibility. But my own strong view is that the only sensible way to go is to have a permanent international criminal court, specifically and primarily to deal with war crimes, serious war crimes. Because if there is any way to begin to stop the commission of war crimes, which has been, unfortunately, more widespread since the Second World War than before it, then this is it. If there is no enforcement of international humanitarian law, people are going to ignore it. If any laws are not enforced, you might as well not have them. Another reason is that it is not satisfactory to have ad hoc courts. It's not fair to have a political body like the Security Council deciding in Yugoslavia we are going to enforce it, in Rwanda we are going to enforce it. What about other countries where there is similar contravention? And this is one of the main objections raised by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia with which I agree. It's a form of discrimination to decide that these international laws can only be applied in some countries and some areas, and not others.

UN Photo



Justice Richard Goldstone

Q: *So, in the case of the former Yugoslavia, how effective is the tribunal, since so many people were indicted and quite a few of them arrested and actually put before the court?*

A: It's a good week to answer this question, because our prison is going to be filling up in The Hague. Three arrests are placed this week, and we expect more next week. We've already got three people in The Hague, so we are soon going to have at least seven or eight people standing trial there. But since Dayton, really, we are on a different threshold—a higher threshold of relevance and acceptance by the international community, by Governments, by the media—and are now being taken seriously. I also have no doubt that if the Bosnian Serb leaders had not been indicted and if Mr. Karadzic and General Mladic were at the table, there would have been no Dayton agreement.

Q: *But what are the prospects for the Bosnian Serb leaders to be arrested and put on trial?*

A: It's more guess work, like looking into a crystal ball. All I can say is that prospects now are better than they ever have been. Because the more the international community puts them aside as pariahs, the more likely it is that they will be handed over, because they will become more of an embarrassment to their own people. No people in the modern world can afford to have leaders indicted as war criminals. Rightly, whether they are guilty or innocent, it's for the court to decide. But as long as they are under suspicion, under indictment, and recognizing that there is the presumption of innocence, I don't see how they can effectively lead any people.

Q: *You have partly anticipated our next question regarding the determination of guilt. The Bosnian Serbs, their press and leaders claim they were actually defending their territory.*

A: You know, for the crimes that we've charged, that's not a defence. You can't rape women and murder people in self-defence, it's a contradiction in terms. You can't bus people

out of Srebrenica and murder them in self-defence, it's just nonsense!

Q: *Could you tell us, what is roughly the balance, in percentage terms, of crimes committed by Serbs, Croats and Muslims throughout the war?*

A: You know, I really can't comment. We don't have all the facts. It's not a judgement, we don't weigh these things nicely and smoothly, it's not relevant in trial. We are looking into specific allegations, specific kinds of crimes. And I think it would be unhelpful and improper, and inappropriate to myself say that one side is more guilty than the other.

Q: *In case those people are put on trial and their guilt is established, what might be the court's decision?*

A: Well, the maximum penalty is life imprisonment in a country that offered its prison. There are now seven or eight such countries, mostly in Europe, like Germany, Italy and the Scandinavian countries, but also Iran and Pakistan.

Q: *Now, turning to Rwanda, where the number of crimes has been still higher, what is the status of the Rwanda Tribunal?*

A: We're making good progress now. We've got two high-level people under indictment, who have been detained in Zambia. As soon as our cells are ready in the middle of next month, they will be transferred for trial to Arusha. We will soon be bringing out indictments against two people in detention in Belgium. The Cameroons have just detained a very high-level suspect—a former chef de cabinet of the former Government at the time of the massacres, of the killings. And we have just brought a (referral) further application, and will be indicting a Burgermeister (Mayor), against whom we have substantial evidence, who has been detained in Switzerland.

Q: *In the case of both Tribunals, will only those people in a position of authority be brought to trial, or also soldiers in the field and other people?*

A: We're only going for people in authority. We've only got two courts, so, we can only bring a few people to trial — not hundreds, let alone thousands. We've got to bring the most appropriate people to the courts, and they're the most guilty people.

Q: *The people in command?*

A: People in political or military command.

Q: *With regard to the establishment of a permanent international criminal court, what is its status?*

A: Well, it's still at a state of being discussed in the United Nations and the International Law Commission. More and more support seems to be being given to it in many more countries than before. I think it's got a long way to go. It will have to be done by treaty, and treaty terms will have to be worked out; and then it will take presumably years before enough countries accept the treaty to make it a viable proposition.

Q: *Perhaps, the most complicated issue in this regard is the balance between national sovereignty and international justice?*

A: That's true. Obviously, to the extent that an international court has primacy, has the right to decide that it wants to try people, to that extent, it's an invasion of the sovereignty of sovereign States. But I would have thought, and I hope, that any decent Government, any decent people, any decent country would be only too willing to hand over for international justice people who commit crimes like genocide and crimes against humanity and against the Geneva Convention.

Q: *And in cases where the country is still governed by those people, then the natural consequence will just be international isolation of that country.*

A: Correct. Absolutely. And the world is getting smaller every month, and countries are more dependent on their neighbours.

Q: *For how long do you think the two tribunals—on Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia—will last?*

A: Rwanda is easier to deal with because the temporal jurisdiction of the Tribunal is 1994—the calendar year. So, we're looking only at the events in a fit of three months — April to June 1994. The investigations will last, I would guess, in a region of another 18 months—two years, I would imagine, at the outside. The trials will go on maybe for a year, 18 months, a maximum of two years after. So, we're looking at three or four years still for Rwanda.

Yugoslavia, it's difficult to say. It depends really—and that's what happens in the former Yugoslavia—because our jurisdiction there opened on the first of January 1991 and is still open-ended. So, if there is still war and there are still more war crimes in the future and until the Security Council cuts off our temporal jurisdiction—and that won't happen until there's some sort of permanent peace—it could go for at least, I would think, four years after it's cut off.

Q: *What new indictments are in the pipeline for Rwanda?*

A: We've issued three indictments, ten people. But there are a number of people who have been detained and will be indicted — two in Belgium, one in Switzerland and possibly the one in Cameroon.

Q: *There have been some discoveries of some mass graves in Rwanda, in Kibuye and elsewhere, as well as in Bosnia and Herzegovina. How are the dead speaking to the investigators?*

A: Our interest in mass grave exhumation in Yugoslavia and Rwanda is for corroboration of eye witnesses. Mass graves in themselves do not prove who committed a crime, but will prove that crimes were committed, because forensically you can prove that people were shot in the back of the head, or killed as many were in Rwanda by machete.

To give you a hypothetical example, taking the former Yugoslavia, if we have eyewitnesses who say that a hundred people were seeking shelter at a school, and they were put into a bus and taken off kilometres away, and then lined up and shot and put into a mass grave, the exhumation can provide important corroboration, because you can find out that the people were shot the way the witnesses said—in the back of the head or whatever the case may be. Also, with DNA testing and other modern forensic methods, one can identify who they (the victims) were. One can find out from other witnesses that they were, in fact, at the school on the day in question. It helps to rebut a defense. Mr. Karadzic, for example, has been alleging that many of the mass graves are not of Muslims, but of Serbs from five or ten years ago. Now, by exhuming the graves, one can establish whether what he says is correct or what he's saying is incorrect. That's the importance from a legal point of view of the mass grave exhumations. We will only exhume graves that are relevant to existing indictments or existing investigations.

Q: *Will the withdrawal of UNAMIR (UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda) have any effects on the investigations or prosecutions?*

A: None. Obviously, we are going to miss the infrastructure that UNAMIR offered, but from a working point of view, no difference at all.

Q: *And not from a security point of view either?*

A: No, because I think we've agreed—and some of the things I've been talking about this week, I'm happy that different security measures will be taken, both by the United Nations and by the Rwandese Government. And I'm confident that that will meet the necessities of the day.

Q: *Does the tribunal have its own investigation teams in the field?*

A: Right.

Q: *There have been delays experienced by the Tribunal in becoming fully operational, but do you feel that those delays are now behind you?*

A: No, we still have the frustration. In Yugoslavia, we're more or less over that period. But (in Rwanda) we're still very much in the position of being very short staffed, and it's taking far too long to get people in UN positions. The bureaucratic machinery is just too slow to really deal with what is an urgent necessity of getting fully staffed.

Q: *And the funding for the Rwanda Tribunal?*

A: The funding isn't really the main problem. The main problem is getting the paper work, getting the people on the ground.

Q: *Are they financed solely from the United Nations budget?*

A: No. It's mainly the United Nations budget, but we also have the Voluntary Trust Fund for the Tribunals, where Governments pay in money over and above their normal contributions.

Q: *You have visited Rwanda. From a personal point of view, how has it affected children and families?*

A: Well, the amazing thing that struck me very much when I first visited Rwanda in December of 1994, and in the fairly large number of visits since then, is what a normal society it looks like. It looks like any other society. In fact, it reminds me very much of Swaziland, which I know very well—one of South Africa's neighbours. Similarly hilly, beautiful country, good looking people, happy people. And it really is amazing; it teaches one. It's the same in Yugoslavia. It was the same in Nazi Germany. Ordinary people are capable of doing terrible things, given the circumstances—given propaganda, given historical hatred, given fear.

The other comment I would like to make is that every time I go to Kigali, it's more and more normal. When I went there in December 1994, there were not many people in the streets. There were certainly no open-air bars. Men and women weren't sitting outside drinking beer. Now, you see that. When I first went there, you didn't see children going to and from school, laughing and playing. Now, you do. The society is clearly and visibly recovering.

Q: *Your successor, Judge Louise Arbour of Canada, who will take over after October 1st, said that the creation of the two Tribunals would be a "milestone" in the history of international law. Do you agree with that statement?*

A: Oh, yes. I've made similar statements myself since I've been on the job. Clearly, it's the first attempt to enforce international humanitarian law.

Q: *A question on the personal side. Have you met Karadzic and Mladic?*

A: Happily not.

Q: *Have you been getting good cooperation from Rwanda's neighbouring Governments?*

A: Yes. No Government thus far has refused to cooperate, and obviously countries like Zambia and now Cameroon and Belgium have been particularly helpful. We haven't really had cause to call on the other Governments, but I'm fairly optimistic they'll help us. Firstly, I think most Governments will want to help us, and even if some don't, it's in their self-interest to help and not be ostracized by the international community.

Q: *How many suspects are in custody in the neighbouring countries?*

A: Well, the ones we're interested in, we've either indicted or brought to application. It's a fairly small number.

Chronicle: Thank you very much. ■

Probe into allegations of arms supplies to continue

UN troops leave; new office to be set up

The International Commission of Inquiry investigating reports of violations of a UN embargo on arms supply to former Rwandan Government Forces should continue to probe into allegations of weapons being shipped to former soldiers now living in refugee camps in the region, according to the Security Council.

Under resolution 1053 (1996), adopted unanimously on 23 April, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was asked to consult with States neighbouring Rwanda, particularly Zaire, regarding the possible stationing of UN observers to monitor airfields and other transport points in and around border crossing areas.

The allegations of illegal arms sales to former Rwandan Government Forces (RGF), in contravention of the UN arms embargo imposed under resolutions 918(1994), 997 (1995) and 1011 (1995), were cause for "grave concern", declared the Council. It asked the Secretary-General to maintain the Commission "to follow up its earlier investigations and to stand ready to pursue any further allegations" of arms shipments. The Council was "determined" that the embargo be fully implemented.

Under the resolution, States in the Great Lakes region of Central Africa were called on to ensure that their territories were not used as bases for armed groups "to launch incursions or attacks against any other State in violation of principles of international law" and the UN Charter.

States, in particular those whose nationals were implicated in a 13 March report of the Commission, were called on to investigate "the apparent complicity" of their officials or private citizens in a June 1994 incident, in which arms were purchased from Seychelles, as well as in other suspected violations of relevant resolutions, and to make the results available to the Commission.

AP/Wide World Photos

Rwandan Foreign Minister Anastasa Gasana *(right)*, together with the Secretary-General's Special Representative Shaharyar Khan *(far left)*, review UN forces in Kigali on 8 March, at a ceremony marking the formal end of UNAMIR.

The importance of stemming the arms flows into the region was emphasized at the Council meeting. Particular concern was voiced about former RGF members being trained in neighbouring States for an armed incursion into Rwanda.

Rwanda welcomed the text, saying the "continuation of the Commission's work is vital for ensuring peace and security in the Great Lakes region", although the terms of reference did not fully equip the body for its tasks.

Remarking that Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire were "so closely interrelated that a cataclysm in one inevitably has repercussions in the others", Burundi stressed that it was essential they all work together. Zaire, while believing it had been unfairly singled out both by the Council and the Commission, said it "eagerly awaits the return to the region of the Commission of Inquiry and hopes that it will leave its prejudices in the dustbin of history and get down to its investigation".

Commission's report

The Council's action came on the heels of similar recommendations contained in the Commission's report, which was transmitted to the Council on 26 January by the Secretary-General *(S/1996/195)*. In a covering letter, Mr. Boutros-Ghali suggested that, in light of the recommendations in the report, the Council might authorize the Commission to continue its investigations.

The Commission reported that it was "satisfied" that Seychelles, acting on the basis of an end-user certificate apparently issued by Zaire, authorized a sale of some 80 tons of AK-47 rifles, mortar shells and ammunition that were flown aboard an Air Zaire cargo plane from Seychelles to Goma, Zaire on 17 and 19 June 1994. The Commission concluded it was "highly probable" that a violation of the embargo had occurred and that the weapons had been transferred to the RGF.

The Commission urged that Zaire again be asked to consider the stationing of UN observers on its territory to monitor the implementation of the embargo and deter the shipment of arms to the former RGF in violation of the embargo. Zaire and other Governments of the Great Lakes region should intensify efforts to make sure their territories were not used as platforms by armed groups to launch incursions, and to prevent military training and the sale or supply of weapons to militia groups.

In its interim report of 26 January *(S/1996/67)*, the Commission had pointed to strong indications that certain Rwandan elements in Zaire were being trained to conduct incursions into Rwanda, and these were having a destabilizing effect. The UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) had briefed the Commission on "the increasing numbers of incursions into Rwanda from Zaire, the growing size and military skill of the groups involved and the extent of the loss caused to life and property as a result of their incursions, considerations which suggest that military training was being carried out". It was not able at that stage to confirm allegations regarding embargo violations by several countries, noting that a number of those countries had not yet replied to the Commission's inquiries.

In a 2 February letter *(S/1996/84)*, Rwanda called for strengthening the capacity and resources of the Commission, which had an important role and impact on the peace and stability in the region, and for "appropriate measures" to be taken against the countries refusing to cooperate with it. On 23 February, Zaire also wrote *(S/1996/132)*, recalling that it had requested the establishment of the Commission. It rejected "the accusation of lack of cooperation" levelled at it by the Commission, and asked that the Commission's terms of reference "be made very clear and be negotiated with" the Zairian Government.

The Council President, in a 13 February letter *(S/1996/104)*, emphasized that Governments which had not yet responded to the Commission's inquiries should do so. Council members noted "the particular importance" of the Zairian Government's cooperation to successfully complete the Commission's work, stressing that they expected such cooperation.

In a 14 March letter *(S/1996/202)*, the Secretary-General reported that the Committee which monitors the sale or supply of arms and related *matériel* to the Rwandan Government, established pursuant to resolution 918 (1994), had received no notifications of the export or import of arms to Rwanda.

Last UN troops leave

The action on the Commission's report came five days after the last UN troops departed Rwanda, bringing to an end a difficult peace-keeping mission that had borne much of the brunt of criticism for the failure of the international community to prevent acts of genocide. The withdrawal on 18 April of the remaining 362 UN peace-keepers ended the two-and-a-half-year old UNAMIR operation, originally mandated by Council resolution 872 (1993) to contribute "to the establishment and maintenance of a climate conducive to the secure installation and subsequent operation of the transitional Government", an institution which had been agreed to in the 4 August 1993 Arusha Peace Agreement.

As the last UNAMIR troops pulled out, the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Shaharyar Khan, prepared an inventory of what UNAMIR had done to help with Rwanda's reconstruction, over and above its official mandate. It had rebuilt 14 bridges; repaired 13 roads; made Kigali airport operational again; provided solar panels, antennas, repeaters and other equipment to get the telephone system back up; treated about 1,600 patients a day at its medical unit; vaccinated 62,000 people; and supplied medicines and trained hospital staff all over the country. The

Mission had also provided transport to a million refugees and displaced persons; distributed food, seeds, agricultural tools and even cattle; helped relieve prison over-crowding, creating new space for 20,000 inmates and relocated 10,000; and cleared over 1,400 mines and disposed over 1,500 pieces of unexploded ordnances.

UN office to be set up

On 15 April, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1996/286)* that, subject to Rwanda's agreement and the availability of funds, a new UN office in Rwanda (UNOR) would be set up. The UN communications systems and radio station would also be maintained. On 24 April, a UN Spokesman reported that Rwanda had accepted UNOR's establishment and that its status and technicalities would be worked out later. Negotiations with the Rwandan Government on those matters had been complex and, at the Secretary-General's request, Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs Marrack Goulding had gone to Kigali on 19 April to clarify modalities regarding UNOR.

Under Council resolution 1050 (1996) of 8 March, the Secretary-General, in agreement with the Government, had been encouraged to maintain a UN office in Rwanda to support the Government's efforts to promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rehabilitate the country's infrastructure.

The Secretary-General's arrangements for UNAMIR's withdrawal, slated to begin the next day, were also noted by the Council, which authorized those UNAMIR elements remaining in the country prior to their final withdrawal to contribute to the protection of the personnel and premises of the International Tribunal for Rwanda.

The Council also welcomed Rwanda's acceptance, in a 1 March letter *(S/1996/176)*, of the Secretary-General's proposal to maintain the office of the Special Representative in Kigali for a period of six months. Rwanda also said that in addition to coordinating all UN activities, the Special Representative should monitor political developments and use his good offices to support the promotion of peace and national reconciliation.

'No alternative' to withdrawal

In a 29 February report *(S/1996/149)*, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali concluded that there seemed to be no alternative to the complete withdrawal of UNAMIR after 8 March, given the prevailing circumstances. While the UN still had a useful role to play in the country, he said, the Government had not consented to any of the options proposed by his Special Representative and had expressed strong reservations about the presence of UN troops after the Mission's expiry.

The Secretary-General proposed three options for a post-UNAMIR presence: a small political office to help the Government promote national reconciliation, strengthen the judicial system, facilitate the return of refugees and rebuild the infrastructure; a political office plus a military component to monitor and provide logistical support for the return of refugees; and a regional office to promote peace, stability and development in the region.

When Rwanda emerged from civil war and genocide with the establishment of the Government of National Unity on 19 July 1994, "conditions in the country were nothing short of disastrous", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said. There had been no administration, no functioning economy, no judicial or education system, no water or electricity supply, and no transport. The population, moreover, had been "in a state of profound shock".

Rwanda was now "returning to normal", though a significant portion of the population were still refugees or displaced persons, the report stated. Agricultural production had reached 82 per cent; industrial production, 75 per cent; child immunization, sanitation, urban water supply and health care, 80 per cent; and public transport, primary schools and university education, above 60 per cent.

In addition, UNAMIR, other UN and international agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) had worked with the Government to restore the basic infrastructure. UNAMIR had helped construct transit camps for returning refugees, establish and train a new "gendarmerie" and communal police, clear mines and aid orphans. It had moved to reopen schools, rehabilitate health and sanitation facilities, ease the appalling prison situation, and provide a sense of security and confidence to NGOs operating in the country.

Another development, according to the report, was that former Presidents Amado Toumani Toure of Mali and Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania, facilitators of the November 1995 Cairo Summit of Heads of State of the Great Lakes region, had visited Rwanda and other countries in the region to monitor steps being taken in pursuance of the recommendations adopted at the Summit. Those visits had contributed to an improvement in Rwanda's relations with Zaire and the United Republic of Tanzania, the Secretary-General said.

However, despite significant progress towards normalcy, Rwanda's relative peace was threatened as long as more than 1.5 million refugees were camped along its borders, he stressed. Former army elements and organized militias added to the threat and continued to intimidate refugees from returning. Refugees were also uncertain about security conditions inside Rwanda. UN troops could speed up repatriation by building confidence and providing logistical support.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali said he would soon submit recommendations to the General Assembly concerning the feasibility of transferring UNAMIR's non-lethal equipment to Rwanda, as recommended by the Council.

In a 25 March report *(A/50/712/Add.2)*, the Secretary-General said that, with the General Assembly's concurrence, he would earmark non-lethal assets valued at $9.2 million for Rwanda, as well as another $6.1 million in assets whose removal from Rwanda or repair was not cost-effective for the Organization. The bulk, or $47 million, of UNAMIR's assets would be trans-

ferred to other UN entities in Rwanda or to other peace-keeping operations and missions. (The Council had asked him to begin planning for a withdrawal and to examine the feasibility of transferring non-lethal equipment for use in Rwanda, under resolution 1029 (1995) of 12 December.)

Tribunal

According to the report, the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda announced on 19 February the indictment of two persons, currently in the custody of the Zambian authorities, on charges of genocide and crimes against humanity. The first indictment, relating to eight accused and four massacre sites, had been submitted by the Special Prosecutor on 22 November 1995, according to the Tribunal's 11 March report *(A/C.5/50/54)*. The Tribunal was established to prosecute persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in Rwanda and by Rwandans in the territory of neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994.

The Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda (HRFOR) had been able to establish a presence in 10 of 11 prefectures. The Government had made clear its wish to have the presence of HRFOR maintained after the expiry of UNAMIR's mandate. The Secretary-General stressed: "I believe that HRFOR must continue to constitute an important element of the United Nations presence in Rwanda beyond 8 March." However, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala Lasso had had great difficulties in securing sufficient voluntary contributions to fund the Operation, and unless those could be secured in the very near future, it would have to close down, the Secretary-General stressed.

On 29 February, the Security Council appointed Louise Arbour of Canada as the new Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. In unanimously adopting resolution 1047 (1996), the Council decided the appointment would be from 1 October 1996, the date the resignation of the current Prosecutor, Justice Richard J. Goldstone of South Africa, would take effect.

'Real progress'

On 30 January, the Secretary-General reported *(A/50/868-S/1996/61)* "real progress" in restoring a sense of normalcy in Rwanda, including "a marked diminution of overt violence". Progress was also being made in rehabilitation, reconstruction and development. Funds pledged by donor countries for the country's development had increased, as had actual disbursements, enabling the launching of a number of rehabilitation and reconstruction projects. The International Tribunal for Rwanda had issued its first indictments, and proceedings were scheduled to begin in March.

However, there had also been incidents setting back national reconciliation, including the defection of some senior civilian and military officials, on top of the departure of former Prime Minister Faustin Twagiramungu. Also, despite intense efforts on the part of the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), refugees were returning only "at a trickle", something which was not expected to pick up significantly. The staffing level of HRFOR had fallen, due to insufficient financial support from donors, limiting its monitoring ability.

"Long-term peace in Rwanda will remain elusive as long as large concentrations of Rwandan nationals remain encamped in neighbouring countries", said the Secretary-General, adding that it would also depend on progress in ending "the prevailing environment of impunity" by bringing to justice those accused of genocide and massacres.

UNHCR Photo

Ntamba camp for Rwandan refugees, Muyinga Province, Burundi

Having considered the progress report on UNAMIR, the Council, in a 13 February letter *(S/1996/103)*, agreed with him that the UN still had a useful role to play in Rwanda and encouraged him to consult with the Government, as well as with relevant UN agencies, "on the appropriate nature of the role" after UNAMIR's wind-up. It also urged him to employ "flexibility" in settling the disposition of the Mission's equipment.

Humanitarian issue

"The most obvious lesson emerging from Rwanda is that prevention is the most sane and compassionate response if the international community is serious about helping communities besieged by crisis", Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs, Yasushi Akashi said on 12 March, on behalf of the executive heads of humanitarian agencies in addressing a meeting on the Multi-Donor Evaluation of Emergency Assistance to Rwanda. The study's central thesis concerned the enormity of what had happened in the country and the profound implications of genocide. The loss of life due to avoidable circumstances had compounded the tragedy.

Another important lesson from Rwanda was that humanitarian assistance could not be a substitute for

political will, Mr. Akashi said. "Relief in a vacuum is tantamount to managing only the symptoms of a crisis." Noting that the study's findings and recommendations would be studied by individual agencies of the UN system, he added that extensive reforms were already under way.

Children scarred

Violence, rapes and killings happened right before the eyes of 95 per cent of Rwandan children during the genocide of 1994, according to a UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) report released on 8 March.

The children had been subjected to "unprecedented levels of exposure to traumatic events", declared UNICEF, which concluded that there was no baseline in modern history that allowed an adequate comparison of the magnitude of traumatic events that those children had personally witnessed during the genocide. The findings came out of a national baseline trauma survey undertaken in 1995 by UNICEF's Trauma Recovery Programme in Kigali. Over 3,000 children, between 8 and 19 years old were interviewed.

No aspect of the war had left the children untouched, the report noted. More than one third of the children interviewed had seen children taking part in killings; 31 per cent had witnessed rape; nearly 80 per cent had lost immediate family members in the violence; and more than one third had witnessed the murder of family members—many beaten or hacked to death with machetes. Almost all of the children believed they would die during the fighting.

Raped, widowed and landless women

A climate of peace must be established in Rwanda before there could be true reconciliation for its 500,000 widowed women and 400,000 orphaned children, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women was told on 31 January. According to Venantie Mukarugomwa, Rwanda's Director for the Promotion of Women, many women had been raped, physically disabled and forced to witness killings of family members in the carnage which engulfed the country in 1994. Others had become infertile because of botched abortions, and most women had no access to health facilities.

Refugee funding shortfall

The UNHCR said it might have to drastically reduce its humanitarian programmes for refugees in the Great Lakes Region because of a serious shortfall in funding.

The Agency's voluntary repatriation programme for Rwanda might be severely set back, affecting its ability to cope in the event of a large scale return of refugees, a UN spokesman said on 16 February. There could also be cutbacks in the delivery of water, sanitation and health services, and the Agency might not be able to go ahead with plans to build 30,000 shelters for returnees. Activities in family unification and trauma treatment might also have to be curtailed.

The UN on 24 January proposed a $70.5 million programme to repair damage to the environment and infrastructure in countries hosting Rwandan refugees. The portfolio of projects will involve efforts to stop environmental damage, including an end to unregulated wood-cutting outside the refugee camps; reforestation; rehabilitation of roads, ports and communication facilities; sanitation, health and education services; and poverty alleviation and income generation. The projects—presented to a technical meeting of donors in Geneva, which was called by the UNHCR and the UN Development Programme—were designed to be implemented rapidly and would complement other activities already under way. ■

Genocide: Two years ago

'Deep mark on the conscience of mankind'

The following is excerpted from a 4 April statement by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali marking the occasion of the second anniversary of the genocide in Rwanda:

On behalf of the United Nations system, I wish to reiterate my profound compassion and my sincere condolences to all the survivors of that tragic nightmare, which left a deep mark on the conscience of mankind. The world must not allow such a tragedy to be repeated. Those responsible for committing such crimes should never go unpunished.

Since the United Nations was established half a century ago, there has been no world war. Nevertheless, the ceremony on the occasion of this second anniversary affords us a sad reminder that mankind continues to witness violence, injustice and suffering.

...

The deep expression of grief and the demonstration of solidarity towards the people of Rwanda constitute a glimmer of hope for the future. The international community, particularly non-governmental organizations and the specialized agencies of the United Nations, and the Government and people of Rwanda are working side by side in the reconstruction of a society psychologically, morally and physically rent asunder by the tragic events that we recall today.

Reconstruction and reconciliation are a vast and difficult task, but we owe it to ourselves to intensify our efforts to accomplish it. This effort constitutes the most appropriate and the most lasting tribute we can pay to the memory of those who lost their lives in the course of this tragedy. As Secretary-General of the United Nations, I wish to give here an assurance of the continuing support of the Organization for any action undertaken with a view to building a new Rwandan society based on tolerance, harmony and justice.

In face of large-scale killings, urgent calls for dialogue and contingency planning

Gravely concerned at the continued deterioration of the security situation in Burundi, which had resulted in further "large-scale killings" in Buhoro and Kivyuka, and at the increasing flow of refugees from the country, the Security Council on 15 May condemned any use of violence and called again for a comprehensive political dialogue aimed at national reconciliation.

Burundian authorities and all parties concerned should "set aside their differences, renounce the use of force and demonstrate a firm political will for a prompt settlement of the conflict", the Council urged. It also called on the parties to refrain from actions that could aggravate the refugee problem, and expressed concern that relief organizations had been prevented from delivering humanitarian and development assistance in Burundi.

In a statement *(S/PRST/1996/24)* by its President, Qin Huasun of China, the Council asked Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and interested Member States "to continue to facilitate, as a matter of urgency, contingency planning for a rapid humanitarian response in the event of widespread violence or a serious deterioration in the humanitarian situation" in the strife-torn Central African country. Mr. Boutros-Ghali was also encouraged to pursue planning for steps that might be taken to support a possible political agreement. The Council had called for contingency planning on 5 March under resolution 1049 (1996).

The Council once again voiced support for the ongoing efforts of Julius Nyerere, former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, to resolve the crisis, and called on all parties to use an upcoming meeting which he had helped to arrange for 22 May in Mwanza, Tanzania, to move forward on national reconciliation. It further called on all States concerned to cooperate in the convening of a regional conference on peace, security and development in the Great Lakes region.

The Council stressed its readiness to consider still further measures, "should the parties fail to demonstrate the necessary political will for a peaceful solution to the crisis".

'Downward spiral of violence'

In a 3 May report *(S/1996/335)*, the Secretary-General had cited persistent reports indicating a "downward spiral of violence". Extremist Hutu rebels, apparently infiltrated from Zaire, were undertaking hit-and-run attacks against Tutsi and moderate Hutu civilians. Burundian armed forces sometimes exacted reprisals against Hutu civilians in the areas where attacks had taken place, "thus reinforcing the propaganda of those who control the extremists", the Secretary-General stressed. He called for the creation of a genuine, effective coalition Government as the only way to break the present "vicious circle".

> "The international community must demonstrate the capacity to avert another tragedy"

Under such disturbing circumstances, Mr. Boutros-Ghali remained "convinced of the necessity for the international community to proceed with contingency planning for a possible military intervention to save lives if disaster should strike Burundi and lead to large-scale killing of civilians". The intervention would be exclusively to save civilian lives. "If the worst happened, Member States might find that they had no alternative but to deploy a multinational force authorized by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the UN Charter", he said, adding that it was therefore "sensible" to undertake preliminary planning. Planning for a UN peace-keeping operation under Chapter VI was also under way, in the event that the Burundian parties might reach a political agreement and seek UN help in implementing it.

Member States had agreed that contingency planning for other eventualities, including a worst-case scenario, should also proceed, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said. A number of countries had expressed readiness in principle to consider contributing troops, provided certain conditions were fulfilled. Other Members had also expressed readiness in principle to consider providing assistance for intervention. However, none had yet volunteered to take the lead in planning, deploying and commanding the operation, he stressed. In view of the urgency, he would use his good offices to facilitate consultations among the various Members that had individually indicated possible interest in contributing. Planning for such a multinational force, however, was beyond the Secretariat's capacity and should, as in the past, be carried out by the Member State or States taking the lead in the operation.

Seeking the Council's support, Mr. Boutros-Ghali emphasized: "It is essential for the international community to demonstrate to all parties in Burundi that it has the political will and the capacity to take timely and effective action to avert another tragedy in the Great Lakes region."

On the question of a possible establishment of a UN radio station in Burundi to combat hate propaganda, the Secretary-General reported that a technical mission sent to the country in April had concluded that it was not a viable option now or in the foreseeable future. A radio station on the scale required would involve language constraints and risks beyond the control of the UN that would significantly reduce its chances of success.

On 15 April, the Council had also condemned acts of violence in Burundi, cautioning that reported statements calling for the arming of civilians could have "grave consequences". The dramatic increase in violence already severely inhibited humanitarian aid and could have a negative effect on donors' capacity to implement development assistance in support of reconciliation and rehabilitation.

AP/Wide World Photos

A child collects water from a ditch outside a camp for people displaced by ethnic violence, near Bujumbura.

In a presidential statement *(S/PRST/1996/21)*, the Council expressed concern over the widespread purchase and use of weapons by Burundians, particularly the laying of land-mines. It urged the authorities and all parties "to set aside their differences and demonstrate the necessary cohesion, unity and political will for settlement of the conflict by peaceful means". They should renounce violence and engage in a comprehensive dialogue.

National debate

The Secretary-General was asked to report back by 1 May 1996 with recommendations on progress towards the commencement of a national debate and other initiatives for comprehensive political dialogue and national reconciliation. In that regard, the Council fully supported the efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, as well as those of former President Nyerere and other envoys, "to resolve the present crisis".

In accordance with resolution 1049 (1996) of 5 March, the Secretary-General was also asked to consult with Member States concerned and the Organization of African Unity, as appropriate, "on contingency planning both for the steps that might be taken to support a comprehensive dialogue and for a rapid humanitarian response in the event of widespread violence or serious deterioration in the humanitarian situation in Burundi".

Also underlining its commitment to closely follow events in the country, the Council said it would consider "all relevant options for an appropriate response by the international community" after reviewing the Secretary-General's impending report.

"I fear that there is a real danger of the situation in Burundi degenerating to the point where it might erupt into a genocidal conflict", the Secretary-General told the Council in a letter of 12 April *(S/1996/313)*.

Conveying "alarming information" received from his Special Representative, the Secretary-General said the security situation in the country had taken another "turn for the worse" during March, with a sharp increase in the number of attacks by Hutu rebels. Heavy fighting, formerly concentrated in the northern part of Burundi, had spread to areas in the south that had previously remained untouched by conflict. Estimates placed a few thousand rebels in that part of the country, who were building light fortifications and using more sophisticated weapons, including mines, according to the Secretary-General.

"Serious differences" had also emerged in the relations between Burundi's President Sylvestre Ntibantunganya—a Hutu—and Prime Minister Antoine Nduwayo—a Tutsi—regarding negotiations with the armed opposition. The President favoured negotiations with the Hutu rebels on the condition that they gave up violence, while the Prime Minister opposed any negotiations and had "invited the Tutsi community to arm itself".

Former President Nyerere's efforts were taking place in a very tense atmosphere, the Secretary-General went on, adding that "we will soon know whether the envisaged dialogue has any chance of being started."

Noting reports of arms having recently been distributed to civilians in the capital and elsewhere, the Secretary-General said the situation had deteriorated to the point that "senior parliamentarians have expressed deep concern that the armed forces might engage in reprisals against the Hutu population still living in Bujumbura and its suburbs".

Rights observers

On 27 March, the Commission on Human Rights called for an increase in the number of observers for Burundi to monitor the human rights situation there and prevent abuses. In a resolution adopted without a vote, the Commission condemned all threats to the democratic process and demanded an immediate end to human rights violations and acts of violence and intimidation. The action came at the end of a special meeting held to examine the deteriorating human rights situation in Burundi. The Commission also condemned the massacres of civilians over the past several years and urged the authorities to put an end to the prevailing situation of impunity. Also, it extended the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the human rights situation in Burundi for one year, and asked Human Rights High Commissioner José Ayala Lasso to set up an assistance programme for the country.

In a 27 February report *(E/CN.4/1996/16/Add.1)*, the Special Rapporteur, Paulo Sergio Pinheiro of Brazil, had warned of a "creeping genocide" marking the situation in Burundi for the past year, and had called for the immediate deployment of at least 100 human rights observers. During a visit to Burundi from 9 to 16 January, he had found little or no progress on certain major issues. ■

'Substantive progress' towards conflict settlement urged

The Security Council on 25 April, in noting with deep concern the "continued failure of the parties to achieve a comprehensive political settlement" of the conflict in Abkhazia—a small Black Sea region of Georgia—called upon them, in particular the Abkhaz side, to "achieve substantive progress without further delay".

In a statement *(S/PRST/1996/20)* by Council President Juan Somavia of Chile, it also noted the "adverse impact" of this failure on the humanitarian situation and economic development in the region, and stressed that the primary responsibility for achieving a comprehensive political settlement "rests upon the parties themselves".

The Council noted the important contribution of the UN Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG), established under resolution 858 (1993) of 24 August 1993, and the Collective Peace-Keeping Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) to the stabilization of the situation in the zone of conflict.

Deep concern was expressed at the deterioration in security conditions in the Gali region, which had a negative effect on UNOMIG's ability to meet its mandated tasks. The Council condemned mine laying in that region, which had resulted in loss of life, including the 9 March killing of Lt. Col. Muhammed Hussain of Bangladesh, a UNOMIG military observer. "Such mine laying should cease", it stated.

While expressing its support for the Secretary-General's efforts to find ways of improving the observance of human rights in the region, the Council remained "deeply concerned at the continued obstruction of the return of the refugees and displaced persons by the Abkhaz authorities", which was "totally unacceptable".

Stalemate continues

Despite many months of vigorous efforts and intensive negotiations by the Russian Federation as facilitator, neither side had signed the draft protocol on the principal elements of a settlement of the Abkhaz conflict, "mainly because of continued disagreement over the political status of Abkhazia", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported *(S/1996/284)* on 15 April. "While this stalemate continues, there can be no significant improvement in the situation of displaced persons and refugees, whose plight is a cause of great concern", he said.

Although the Abkhaz leadership now recognized that Abkhazia would be "part of a single Georgian State within the boundaries of the former Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic as at 21 December 1991", which would be federative in nature, "pronounced differences remain over the constitutional definition of the Georgian State", the Secretary-General noted.

The Georgian side, he went on, wanted the draft to reflect that Georgia was "one single federal State within which Abkhazia enjoys certain state powers and rights". The Abkhaz side demanded that it describe the State as a "union which came about as the result of a treaty between two subjects of equal status under international law", Mr. Boutros-Ghali pointed out.

Even if the draft protocol was signed in the near future, it seemed unlikely that it would clearly define Abkhazia's political status, he observed. However, it would serve as a framework for future negotiations and expert discussions, not only on constitutional issues, but also in other areas, such as banking, finance, transport, communications, public policy and social and military affairs.

"It is in this planning for the implementation phase that I see an important role for the United Nations", the Secretary-General stated. Such involvement would be "closely synchronized" with the efforts of the Russian Federation and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), he said.

The Secretary-General also reported that the Abkhaz authorities had agreed with a proposed programme for the protection and promotion of human rights in Abkhazia. This programme is to be carried out by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, in cooperation with the OSCE. ■

AP/Wide World Photos

Refugees get free bread from a church in Tbilisi, Georgia.

'Concessions and compromises' needed

The Tajik parties—the Government of Tajikistan and the United Tajik Opposition—were called upon by the Security Council on 29 March to "accelerate substantially their efforts to reach agreement" on the basis of the 17 August 1995 Protocol on the fundamental principles for establishing peace and national accord in the country.

In a statement by its President, Legwaila J. Legwaila of Botswana, the Council also urged them to "negotiate constructively and in good faith and to search for solutions on the basis of mutual concessions and compromises". It regretted that "insufficient progress" had been made towards the solution of fundamental political and institutional issues during the continual round of the inter-Tajik talks (30 November-22 December 1995, 26 January-18 February 1996) in Ashgabad, under UN auspices.

In expressing deep concern about the violations of the 17 September 1994 Teheran cease-fire, and in particular about the "ongoing fighting in the Tavildara region", the Council appealed to the parties to comply strictly with all their obligations under that agreement. It also noted with concern that the ongoing military operations and other cease-fire violations "create doubt regarding the parties' commitment to an effective cease-fire".

National reconciliation

In that regard, the Council reminded the parties that the mandate of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT), established on 16 December 1994 by Council resolution 968 (1994), was subject to the proviso that the Teheran cease-fire remained in force and that the parties continued to be "committed to an effective cease-fire, to national reconciliation and to the promotion of democracy".

While acknowledging the cease-fire extension for a further three months, until 26 May 1996, the Council, however, was concerned that it had "only been extended for this short period". It fully supported the Secretary-General's appeal to the Tajik opposition to agree to the cease-fire extension for the duration of the inter-Tajik talks.

Tajik President Emomali Rakhmonov and Abdullo Nuri, leader of the Islamic Revival Movement of Tajikistan (IRMT), were encouraged to hold their next meeting "as soon as possible", as the Council reiterated the importance for the peace process of direct political dialogue between them.

Deep concern was expressed over the 24 February kidnapping of Zafar Rakhmonov, opposition co-chair of the Joint Commission, which had been established to implement the Teheran agreement. The Council called on the Tajik Government to "intensify its investigation into this incident" and provide the "necessary security guarantees to allow the Joint Commission to function safely and effectively.

The "positive role played by UNMOT under difficult circumstances" was welcomed, and deep concern was expressed over "recent incidents" in which the Mission's personnel had been "harassed and threatened". The Council reiterated its call to the parties to cooperate fully with UNMOT and ensure the safety and freedom of movement of UN personnel.

While concerned about delays in the establishment of an UNMOT liaison post at Taloqan (northern Afghanistan) and in encouraging the relevant Afghan authorities to facilitate its opening, the Council welcomed the "creation of the office of an independent ombudsman for human rights in Tajikistan" with the help of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe and expressed the hope that his activities would "contribute to a lessening of tensions".

On 2 May, the Security Council endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendation to appoint Gerd Merrem of Germany as his Special Envoy in Tajikistan, to replace Ramiro Piriz-Ballón of Uruguay, who was returning to national service.

Despite hopes for substantive progress towards a general peace agreement, "very little progress" had been achieved at the inter-Tajik talks, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported *(S/1996/212)* on 22 March.

An agreement on holding a special session of the Tajik Parliament, with the opposition leaders' participation, which had had the "potential of becoming a turning point in the process of national reconciliation", was the "only promising development", he said. But the session had not been attended by the opposition.

In taking note of the recent statements of President Rakhmonov and Mr. Nuri on their readiness to continue their direct dialogue and resume the inter-Tajik negotiations, Mr. Boutros-Ghali hoped that "contacts between the two parties at the highest level will give the necessary impetus to the negotiating process".

The Secretary-General reported a "deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Tajikistan, particularly in the areas affected by the continued military confrontation". Over 600,000 people were in need of emergency food-assistance and their plight was "compounded by severe energy shortages and a rapid increase of health-related problems". Continued donor support was urgently needed, the Secretary-General stressed.

Drug control plan

A Memorandum of Understanding with the UN International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP) on joint efforts to combat illicit production, trafficking and abuse of drugs in Central Asia was signed by Foreign Ministers of Kazakstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, as well as UNDCP Executive Director Giorgio Giacomelli, on 4 May in Tashkent. ■

Solution nearer on Nagorny Karabakh issue

The parties to the conflict over Nagorny Karabakh—a mostly Armenian-populated area of Azerbaijan—had, on the whole, been observing the 12 May 1994 cease-fire, the Co-Chairmen of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Minsk Conference, Heikki Talvitie and Valentin Lozinsky, reported *(S/1996/259)* to the Security Council on 9 April.

Following several rounds of talks held under the Co-Chairmen's mediation between the three conflicting parties—Armenia, Azerbaijan and Nagorny Karabakh—the "outlines of a settlement are emerging", the report said. Among the issues the parties agreed to were: settlement of all matters of dispute among themselves "only by peaceful means, first and foremost through negotiations"; carrying out of the "military-technical measures to consolidate the cease-fire and cessation of hostilities"; elaboration of Nagorny Karabakh's legal status, to be determined at the OSCE Minsk Conference, on the basis of a "mutually acceptable compromise"; humanitarian aid delivery to the territories that had been affected by the conflict; "safe, voluntary and balanced return" of displaced persons and refugees to their former places of permanent residence; evacuation of the territories occupied in the course of the armed conflict; establishment of local and regional security measures, including safe and unimpeded access from Nagorny Karabakh to Armenia; deployment of a multinational OSCE peace-keeping force to assist the implementation of the political agreement; and "removal of obstacles to and restoration of all normal links in the region".

However, three rounds of direct negotiations between Armenia and Azerbaijan, held early in 1996, had shown that the "parties still did not display a readiness to conduct a constructive dialogue and search for compromise", it was reported.

The Co-Chairmen then prepared a "Framework for a package solution", since they believed that a package deal on the most important elements of the key problems would constitute a "breakthrough for rapid conclusion of the political agreement".

The Framework contained an outline, the Co-Chairmen went on, which "should in the immediate future be worked out and agreed in the negotiating process on the basis of the following commitments assumed by the parties": evacuation of all occupied territories; unimpeded access from Nagorny Karabakh to Armenia and vice versa; security for Nagorny Karabakh and its population; Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and the "broadest possible self-rule" for Nagorny Karabakh; application to the population of Shusha and Shaumyan of the right of voluntary and safe return of all refugees and displaced persons to their former places of permanent residence; observance of the norms of international humanitarian law; and "openness and transparency, and safeguarding mutual security in the region".

Appeal for South Caucasus

A supplementary appeal seeking some $37 million for humanitarian operations in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia during the first five months of 1996 to address the needs of more than 900,000 refugees and internally displaced people in communities still affected by or recovering from the conflict was issued by the UN on 20 February in Geneva.

The appeal supplement—comprising projects from eight UN agencies, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and non-governmental organizations—sought $9.6 million for Armenia, $8.7 million for Azerbaijan, $15.1 million for Georgia and $3.1 million for regional projects. The UN agencies had been attempting to assist some 250,000 people in Armenia, 405,000 in Azerbaijan, and 250,000 in Georgia. ■

Concern over Chechnya

The Commission on Human Rights on 25 April urged the parties to the conflict in the Republic of Chechnya, Russian Federation, to respect fully the principles of international law. In a consensus statement by its Chairman, Gilberto Vergne Saboia of Brazil, the body also called for an "immediate and lasting cessation of hostilities, violations of human rights and other acts of violence". While expressing deep concern over the "disproportionate use of force" by the Russian armed forces, the Commission acknowledged the cooperation of the Russian Federation with the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and its special mechanisms. The parties were called on to begin immediate contacts, "with the aim of finding a peaceful solution to the conflict, consistent with respect for the territorial integrity and the Constitution of the Russian Federation". The Commission also reiterated that the fundamental human rights of the people of Chechnya should be upheld.

High Commissioner for Human Rights Jose Ayala Lasso on 15 January stated that the world community had been alarmed by events in Kizlyar, where Chechen fighters had taken hostage a large number of civilians, including women and children. "Nothing can justify hostage-taking and other forms of attacks on innocent non-combatants in time of conflict", he stressed.

The situation in Chechnya could be said to be a "national tragedy", the Russian Federation told the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on 28 February. The crisis, however, was "not based on national or religious factors, but on political ones", it stated. The Committee on 12 March strongly recommended that the Russian Federation "urgently take all measures to restore peace in Chechnya" and guarantee the rights of all victims of the conflict, especially refugees.

'Sombre anniversary' of worst nuclear disaster in history

The very name "Chernobyl"—a small Ukranian town, where a nuclear reactor exploded exactly ten years ago on the "fateful day" of 26 April 1986—had become "synonymous with disaster", General Assembly President Diogo Freitas do Amaral of Portugal declared on 26 April.

However, the "fact that we are meeting today at United Nations Headquarters to commemorate this sombre anniversary is a clear indication of the international nature of the legacy of this accident, as well as of the importance that the United Nations continues to accord to this problem", he stated, in addressing the Assembly on the International Day Commemorating the Tenth Anniversary of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant Accident, declared by Assembly resolution 50/134 of 20 December 1995.

Devastating effects

The long-term implications were "still being examined", Mr. do Amaral went on, and the most devastating effects continued to be "acutely felt by hundreds of thousands of people" in Belarus, the Russian Federation and Ukraine. "Radioactive contamination, tremendous psychological stress, growing health problems and the ever-present fear of the unknown consequences that may yet manifest themselves, are tearing at the fabric of life in the affected States", the Assembly President stated.

The world community should jointly achieve a "far-reaching breakthrough" in addressing those problems, and the role the UN "can best play is a catalytic one", he suggested. It could facilitate the international community's involvement in "mobilizing purposeful support" to whichever organization or institution could most effectively respond to the priority needs. "In the amalgam of the various emergencies occurring in the world almost on a daily basis, the problem of Chernobyl commands special attention in view of its unique and persistent character", he stressed.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 8 April had appealed *(A/50/924)* to Member States to continue and intensify their assistance to Belarus, the Russian Federation and Ukraine, so that a "tangible difference can be made in the lives of those still suffering at the hands of the 'invisible enemy'".

The tenth anniversary of Chernobyl was a "special opportunity to express a renewed commitment to help those who are asking for our assistance", and a chance to "reinforce our common effort to respond to this continuing humanitarian and technological disaster", he stressed.

The explosion, which had released 50 million curies of radioactive isotopes into the environment, was "much more than the worst technological disaster in the history of nuclear power generation", the Secretary-General declared. It was also a "grave and continuing humanitarian tragedy". It was "a long-term problem of unprecedented complexity, which can only be tackled successfully through the combined efforts of the entire international community", he stated.

The UN remained "profoundly concerned" by the continuing impact of this disaster on the lives and health of large numbers of people, particularly children, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said.

A two-day event

The Assembly's 26 April special commemorative meeting was part of a two-day programme of activities, organized at UN Headquarters on 25 and 26 April by the Permanent Missions of Belarus, the Russian Federation and Ukraine, in cooperation with the UN's Departments of Humanitarian Affairs and Public Information.

Other events included: an open expanded meeting of the ministerial-level Quadripartite Committee for Coordination on Chernobyl, which reviewed progress in international efforts over the past decade to mitigate the consequences of the disaster and discussed plans for future action; a press conference by representatives of the three affected countries; commemorative photography and art exhibitions and an exhibit of children's drawings; a concert by the Odessa Philharmonic Orchestra (Ukraine) and a solo recital by a young Belarussian pianist; the screening of some award-winning documentary films on the tragedy; and an International Charity Bazaar.

Vienna conference

The consequences of the Chernobyl accident "cannot be regarded as the problem of a few countries", Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali told the International Conference on "One Decade After Chernobyl: Summing Up the Consequences of the Accident" (8-12 April, Vienna).

"Even today, its health, social, economic and environmental dimensions, both immediate and long-term, remain to be defined", he said in a message delivered on his behalf on 9 April by Director-General Hans Blix of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

In welcoming the forum, Mr. Boutros-Ghali hoped that it could assist the affected States, as well as donor countries and organizations, to "focus their relevant activities and assistance on the most pressing tasks, for much more needs to be done to help those still suffering".

The five-day Conference, attended by more than 800 scientists and government officials, was jointly sponsored by the IAEA, the World Health Organization and the European Commission. It reviewed many scientific, medical, environmental, social and political issues involved in assessing Chernobyl's legacy in the context of major changes over the past decade in the countries of the former Soviet Union. ■

Armed conflict continues

The Security Council on 15 February deeply deplored the continuation of armed hostilities in Afghanistan, which had brought "death and destruction to the people and property of the country" and threatened the peace and security of the region, and called on the parties involved to end the hostilities forthwith and not to obstruct the delivery of humanitarian aid to Kabul's innocent civilians.

In a statement by its President, Madeleine K. Albright of the United States, the Council also commended the efforts of the UN, the International Committee of the Red Cross and other humanitarian agencies in Afghanistan, which were "working under the most trying circumstances", and the airlift of food supplies from Peshawar to Kabul. It urged the international community to "continue its support of those life-saving efforts".

Particular concern was expressed about the intensification of shelling and air attacks in and around Kabul and the blockade of the city, which had prevented the delivery of foodstuffs, fuel and other humanitarian items to its population.

The Council was deeply concerned that the continued conflict in Afghanistan provided "fertile ground for terrorism, arms transfers and drug trafficking, which destabilize the whole region and beyond". It called on the Afghan leaders to put aside their differences and halt such activities.

The Council reaffirmed its support for the efforts of the UN Special Mission to Afghanistan, led by Mahmoud Mestiri, to bring about a "peaceful solution to the conflict through the establishment of a fully representative, broad-based, authoritative council acceptable to all Afghans", and called upon them to cooperate fully with the Special Mission as it worked towards that goal.

The Council urged the captors of the Russian aircraft crew members in Kandahar, detained since August 1995, to "release them immediately and without any preconditions".

Council debate

Support for the mandate given by the General Assembly in its resolution 50/88 B to establish a fully representative, broad-based authoritative council, through a peaceful dialogue among the Afghans, as the most appropriate way to achieve a lasting settlement in Afghanistan was expressed by many of the 27 speakers who addressed the Council on 9 April, as it held two meetings on the situation in that country. They also supported the UN Special Mission, which was trying to help national reconciliation and reconstruction.

Some speakers felt that foreign intervention was thwarting international efforts to achieve a negotiated settlement to the conflict. Abdul-Rahim Ghafoorzai, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan, stated that since 1992 Pakistani military intelligence circles had "covertly been working towards their goal by supporting, provoking and stirring up their stooges to seize power in Kabul". Moreover, he went on, Pakistani military and intelligence elements had been "physically involved" in the 1 January 1994 abortive coup attempt against his Government and the brutal attack on Kabul.

Ahmad Kamal of Pakistan said the allegations against his country had been "concocted in a transparent attempt to cover up the massive weapons supplies from certain quarters". The Taliban controlled "more than half the country" and were "locked in a struggle with the nominal central authority", which physically controlled only five of the country's 32 provinces, he stated.

Sir John Weston of the United Kingdom expressed concern that some 70 per cent of Europe's heroin came from Afghanistan, which was also "increasingly used to train terrorists whose activities have consequences far beyond that country's borders".

Edward W. Gnehm of the United States stressed that, contrary to media reports, his Government favoured "none of the factions, movements or individuals currently vying for power in Afghanistan", nor did it supply weapons or other military or financial support to any of those factions.

Sergey V. Lavrov of the Russian Federation said that, despite appeals, the Taliban still detained seven crew members of the Russian airplane and "made no secret that their detention is being used to exert pressure" on his country. His Government, however, was concerned to ensure the security of the borders between Afghanistan and the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

'Military option still preferred'

The military option still seemed the "course of action preferred by the main warring parties", which did not seem "genuinely ready to pursue a peaceful political settlement through the United Nations", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported *(A/50/908)* on 3 April.

Further complicating the peace process and fuelling the machinery for war was the "escalating foreign interference by countries in the region and beyond, often in the form of active support of one faction or another". But the countries concerned, the Secretary-General went on, "either categorically deny any involvement in Afghanistan or refer to it as legitimate assistance to the Afghan people".

The fact that the proposed transfer-of-power mechanism had not advanced significantly was "almost entirely attributable to these two elements", he said. However, the Secretary-General remained convinced that the establishment of a fully representative and broad-based authoritative council, through a peaceful dialogue among the Afghans, was the "most appropriate formula for opening the way towards a lasting settlement and peace" in Afghanistan. At the same time, it was "necessary to explore additional ways and means to facilitate the realization of that objective", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated. ■

With pace of peace process slow, meeting goals of Lusaka Protocol will determine UNAVEM's continuation

The UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) has been extended by the Security Council until 11 July 1996. The Council, concerned with repeated delays in the implementation of successive timetables agreed to by the parties and with the "overall slow pace" of the peace process, declared that it would place "special emphasis" on headway made in considering the Mission's future mandate. Particular concern was expressed with regard to the slow pace in quartering troops of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) and in completing talks regarding the integration of the Angolan Armed Forces (FAA).

Under resolution 1055 (1996), adopted unanimously on 8 May, the Council also urged the Angolan Government and UNITA to abide strictly by the obligations they had undertaken in 1994 on signing the Lusaka Protocol, as well as with commitments made by Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos and UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi on 1 March in Libreville, Gabon.

At that meeting, the two leaders had pledged to adopt a series of measures to accelerate the Protocol's implementation, including forming the unified FAA by June and a Government of National Unity and Reconciliation between June and July. In the new Government, Mr. dos Santos would continue as President. Mr. Savimbi was invited to serve as one of two Vice-Presidents.

Under the resolution, the Council also welcomed the proclamation by the Angolan National Assembly of amnesty arrangements, as agreed on in Libreville, and progress made in quartering of the Government's rapid reaction police.

Progress 'slow'

"Progress in implementing the Lusaka Protocol has been disappointingly slow and many of the tasks which the parties themselves agreed to carry out in April remained unfulfilled", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in his 30 April report *(S/1996/328)* on UNAVEM III.

While the Government-UNITA dialogue had been maintained, the military situation had been stable and progress had been achieved with the partial barracking of the FAA and the rapid reaction police, "the overall achievements fall well short of what the Security Council had been led to expect", the Secretary-General reported. The quartering of UNITA troops was "virtually stalled", although the flow had increased during the last few days of April. There were also delays in reaching agreement on incorporating UNITA troops into the FAA. As a result of the "unsatisfactory state of affairs", the Secretary-General recommended only a two-month extension of the Mission's mandate.

'Move process forward'

The Council on 24 April urged President dos Santos and Mr. Savimbi to "move the peace process forward", emphasizing that the ultimate responsibility for restoring peace in the country rested with the Angolans themselves.

In a statement by Council President Juan Somavia of Chile *(S/PRST/1996/19)*, it reminded both sides that an extension of UNAVEM III would be based, to a large part, on progress towards meeting the goals set by the Lusaka Protocol. The Council felt that progress in implementing the Protocol had been limited and had not fulfilled the hopes generated by the 1 March meeting in Libreville.

Noting delays in the quartering process, the Council encouraged UNITA "to move expeditiously" in that regard. Also concerned by the quality of weapons surrendered so far by UNITA, the Council urged it to turn over all arms, ammunition and military equipment, and to release all remaining prisoners.

Citing two statements made by Mr. Savimbi in March which had cast doubt on some of his party's pledges, the Council expressed further concern, adding that all Angolan leaders should carefully consider the effect their public statements had on the climate of confidence needed to "nurture the peace process".

The Council expressed satisfaction at progress the Government had made in implementing its commitments under the Lusaka Protocol and the current timetable. It also emphasized the importance of completing the Calendar of Actions for April, including the continuation of the pull-back of Government forces from areas near UNITA quartering sites, the return of the rapid reaction police to barracks, the adoption of a plan to disarm the civilian population and the quartering of UNITA troops. The Government should grant facilities to UNAVEM III for an independent UN radio, it said. Both parties should complete integrating UNITA troops into the FAA, and destroy their stockpiles of anti-personnel landmines.

The Council was concerned about "credible reports" of continuing purchases and delivery of weapons to Angola. It condemned a 3 April incident that had resulted in the death of two UNAVEM personnel, the wounding of a third, and the death of a humanitarian assistance official.

Quartering of troops

The progress made by the Angolan Government and UNITA in meeting agreed goals had been "limited", particularly with regard to the quartering of UNITA troops, the Secretary-General reported on 4 April *(S/1996/248 and Add.1)*. "Much remains to be done", he added.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali called on the two parties to implement in good faith, within the agreed time-frame, the Lusaka Protocol's provisions, as well as the agreements reached at Libreville concerning the completion of the quartering process, the formation of

the new FAA and the establishment of a Government of national unity and reconciliation.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali also warned that, while the international community stood ready to provide emergency assistance and facilitate economic reconstruction and development, "the patience of major donors is not without limits and their assistance will depend to a large extent on the continued commitment of the parties to peace and national reconciliation".

Among the positive developments were: the two parties had agreed on 9 March that UNITA would provide the new joint army with 18 generals and fill several important positions, including that of Vice-Minister of Defence and Deputy Chief of the General Staff; the military situation remained stable; and the Government/UNITA conflict prevention mechanism operating under UN auspices had been "instrumental in preventing serious cease-fire violations". In addition, demining operations and training were proceeding, UNAVEM III was continuing to monitor the human rights situation and investigate violations, and humanitarian activities were proceeding normally. With the remainder of UNAVEM III's military component deployed in March, its military and police personnel had surpassed 7,000, making it the largest current peace-keeping mission of the Organization.

UNITA troop quartering

In a 6 March report *(S/1996/171)*, the Secretary-General called UNITA's quartering of more than 16,000 troops "a step forward" and commended the Government for the implementation of several of its commitments. But he also warned that "time is running short if the parties are to complete the numerous outstanding tasks foreseen in the Lusaka Protocol".

Instances of forced recruitment and the substandard quality of weapons, equipment and ammunition brought to quartering areas were "bound to raise doubts about the good faith of UNITA in its approach to this process", he stated. Those doubts could only be dispelled by completing the process expeditiously.

Mr. Boutros-Ghali called a speedy conclusion of the talks on outstanding military matters "critical for the advancement of the peace process". Other measures that would instill confidence included: the release of all prisoners held by UNITA; unrestricted circulation of people throughout Angola; the launching of a country-wide campaign to disarm civilians; the transformation of UNITA into a political party. ■

Security Council says flight of Libyan aircraft to Jeddah a clear violation of resolution

The Security Council on 18 April said it considered the 16 April flight of a Libyan-registered aircraft from Tripoli to Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, as a clear violation of Council resolution 748 (1992) and totally unacceptable. It called on Libya to refrain from any further violations.

A statement read out by Council President Juan Somavia of Chile *(S/PRST/1996/18)* recalled that arrangements had been made consistent with resolution 748 (1992), in order to fly Libyan pilgrims to perform the Hajj. The Council would review the matter should further violations occur and requested the Security Council Sanctions Committee set up pursuant to resolution 748 (1992) to draw the attention of Member States to their obligations under that resolution in the event that Libyan-registered aircraft landed in their territory.

By resolution 748 (1992), the Council had imposed aerial, arms and diplomatic sanctions against Libya, until it complied with requests to cooperate fully in establishing responsibility for terrorist acts against Pan Am flight 103 and UTA flight 772.

Not in compliance with resolutions

The United States, the United Kingdom and France declared on 21 March, on the occasion of the twelfth review of sanctions imposed on Libya by the Security Council, that Libya had still not complied with resolutions 731 (1992), 748 (1992) and 883 (1993), and reaffirmed their common determination to have all the provisions contained in those resolutions implemented. The three countries reiterated that Libya must commit itself to ceasing all forms of terrorist activity and all assistance to terrorist groups.

In a 2 April letter to the Secretary-General *(S/1996/236)*, Libya's Permanent Representative said his Government totally rejected the declaration which "reveals the obstinacy of those States and their insistence upon going against the view of the majority of the members of the Security Council, who at each review express their appreciation of the flexibility shown by the Jamahiriya with a view to arriving at a just and peaceful settlement of the dispute".

Pilgrimage flights approved

The Sanctions Committee approved on 8 March a request from Egypt for 45 flights on Egypt Air from Cairo to Tripoli and Benghazi, and on to Jeddah, and an equal number of return flights, to allow Libyan pilgrims to travel to Saudi Arabia to perform Hajj.

On 5 February, the Committee turned down Libya's request for the purchase of a Jet Star L-731 to replace one of the four pre-approved air ambulances for emergency medical evacuation flights. Libya had asked for such permission because it claimed that three of the four aircraft were out of service as they needed maintenance. ■

Security Council calls on Somali political leaders to return to inclusive negotiation

Deeply concerned about the absence of any credible progress towards national reconciliation in Somalia, the Security Council on 24 January called on all Somali political leaders and parties to return to an inclusive process of consultation and negotiation, leading to the establishment of a broad-based national government.

Through a statement read out by Council President Sir John Weston of the United Kingdom, it urged the leaders of Somali factions to reject violence and place the interests of the country and its people above their personal differences and political ambitions. While expressing appreciation for the efforts of various regional organizations and neighbouring States in promoting dialogue, the Council reaffirmed that the people of Somalia bore ultimate responsibility for achieving national reconciliation and restoring peace.

The Council condemned the harassment, beatings, abduction and killings of personnel of international humanitarian organizations, and underlined the responsibility of all Somali parties to ensure the security of such personnel.

Considering the uninterrupted delivery of humanitarian assistance to be crucial to overall security and stability in Somalia, the Council called on the Somali parties and factions to open unconditionally the main seaport in Mogadishu and other transportation facilities. It reminded all States of their obligation to implement fully the military embargo against Somalia and called on them to refrain from actions which might exacerbate the situation.

The Council also supported the Secretary-General's intention to maintain the UN Political Office for Somalia (UNPOS) and looked forward to its return to the country as soon as circumstances permitted. (UNPOS is currently based in Nairobi.)

Report of the Secretary-General

In his 19 January report *(S/1996/42)*, the Secretary-General suggested that the Council "might wish to reiterate its call on all Somali parties, especially those who have of late adopted a unilateral approach, to return to an inclusive process of consultation and negotiation". He stated his intention of maintaining UNPOS for the time being. That office would continue its contacts with all concerned Somali parties, while coordinating its activities with interested Governments and regional organizations.

The Secretary-General also urged the international community to respond generously to calls for assistance by the humanitarian agencies, while stressing the responsibility of all Somali parties to ensure the security of humanitarian workers. He noted that, in November 1995, 10 UN agencies had identified their most critical programmes

UN Photo 159883/M. Grant

Young girls from a UN-supported orphanage in Baidoa.

and urgent funding requirements for 1996. The non-food funding requirements totalled some $40 million, which represented in most cases the minimum that was necessary to maintain humanitarian operations in Somalia.

The political situation in the country had been dominated by a debilitating stalemate for almost two years, the Secretary-General stated. During that time, Somali faction leaders had failed to honour their commitments on convening an all-inclusive national reconciliation conference and forming a government by May 1994. However, while there had been no major progress towards national reconciliation, the worst scenario—an all-out civil war—had been averted.

The widely felt frustration had contributed to a split in the United Somali Congress/Somali National Alliance (USC/SNA) in May 1995, the report stated. Subsequently, SNA former leader General Mohamed Farah Aidid had declared a "government" without the consent of other key political factions. That "government" had not been recognized by any Member State or regional organization.

The Secretary-General cited a significant trend which was the emergence of regional administrations. Many political leaders were focusing on the development of regional administrative structures and a peaceful climate in their regions to enable their constituencies to benefit from international assistance. However, the Somalis seemed to be divided as to whether those authorities should constitute the basis for a federal system of government or simply represent a degree of regional autonomy.

It was heartening that Member States and regional organizations had not lost interest in developments in Somalia, despite many disappointments, the Secretary-General said. They had consistently called for a negotiated settlement.

While many Somali leaders had asked that the UN provide financial and logistical support for some of their peace initiatives, UNPOS had no resources for such support, the report stated. Their best hope of attracting international support would be to give some first signs of concrete progress towards peace and reconciliation.

The low level of food production, continued political instability and other factors combined to make international assistance to Somalia essential, the report added. The UN agencies believed that even in the worst-case scenario, their continued operations could play an important role in preventing another major humanitarian crisis. However, drawing down their activities could have the opposite effect.

> "In recent months, 600,000 Somalis had fled to other countries, with another 500,000 internally displaced"

The most urgent humanitarian needs were food and essential health systems support, particularly immunization and measures to control the spread of epidemic diseases such as cholera, the report stated. Other priorities were the stimulation of agricultural production and the empowerment of local populations. UN agencies plan to continue their current programmes in 1996, resources and security permitting, with the possibility of a rapid expansion in case of acute nutritional problems.

Somalia 'not abandoned'

The Security Council on 15 March held a general exchange of views on the situation in Somalia, one year after the withdrawal of the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II), with several delegations stressing that the international community had not abandoned that country.

The representative of Italy, speaking on behalf of the European Union, expressed support for continued humanitarian assistance and the maintenance of UNPOS. His greatest concern was the humanitarian situation, which had ceased to be "newsworthy". It was the Council's responsibility to keep the international community focused on Somalia.

The United States' representative said her Government was proud of its efforts in Somalia, which had helped end a famine of epic proportions. Somalia remained a dangerous place, but while political developments remained at a stalemate, aspects of the private sector economy, such as agricultural exports, had re-emerged. Further, UN agencies had been addressing the humanitarian, social and economic concerns, despite the insecurity that hampered delivery of humanitarian aid.

Other speakers, however, noted examples of continued hardship, such as a rise in malnutrition and fears of a cholera outbreak. The representative of Kenya urged the Council to continue to treat the situation in Somalia as a threat to international peace and security. He pointed out that arms were being imported into the country in violation of the Council's embargo, and Mogadishu's airport and seaport remained closed. The Organization of African Unity noted that in recent months 600,000 Somalis had fled to other countries, with another 500,000 internally displaced.

Rwanda's representative said he hoped the Council debate would not give participating States a sense of self-satisfaction, rather he hoped it would lead the Council and the UN Secretariat to consider the Somalis as victims of situations over which they had no control. He denounced the "minimalist" attitude of the UN and said the withdrawal of UNOSOM II had helped increase chaos in Somalia, just as genocide in Rwanda had been made possible by the withdrawal of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). ■

Identification of voters suspended as stalemate is reported

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 8 May informed the Security Council that all efforts to resume the identification of potential voters in Western Sahara had failed and that he was recommending that "the process be suspended until such time as the parties provide convincing evidence that they are fully committed to resuming it without further obstacles".

Mr. Boutros-Ghali attributed the stalemate to the position of the two parties—the Government of Morocco and the Frente Popular para la Liberacion de Saguia el-Hamra y Rio de Oro (POLISARIO). He said the remaining members of the Identification Commission would leave the mission area at the end of May 1996, and their records would be transferred to the UN Office at Geneva for safe keeping.

The Secretary-General also proposed an extension of the mandate of the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) for a period of six months, with a reduction in the strength of its military component by 20 per cent from 288 to 230 personnel.

Phased withdrawal

Earlier, the Council on 31 January had extended MINURSO's mandate until 31 May, at the same time asking the Secretary-General to submit a detailed programme for its phased withdrawal in the absence of meaningful progress towards completion of the Settlement Plan.

In unanimously adopting resolution 1042 (1996), the Council also expressed deep concern about the stalemate hindering the identification process and the consequent lack of progress towards the Plan's completion.

The Council called on the two parties to cooperate with the Secretary-General and MINURSO in resuming the identification process and to consider additional ways to create confidence between themselves and facilitate the Plan's implementation.

The Settlement Plan, which was accepted by the two parties on 30 August 1988 and approved by the Council on 27 June 1990 in its resolution 658 (1990), entails the holding of a referendum without military or administrative restraints, to enable the people of Western Sahara to choose between independence and integration with Morocco.

Secretary-General's report

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, in his 19 January report *(S/1995/43 and Corr.1)*, proposed two options. The first would be to extend MINURSO's mandate until 31 May, thus allowing time for the resumption of the identification process and an opportunity to test the political will of the parties. If at any time before 31 May there was little or no improvement in the situation, the Secretary-General would bring the matter to the attention of the Council.

He emphasized that the stalemate that arose in December 1995 would in all probability reappear in a few months time, if and when the Identification Commission succeeded in completing the processing of the applicants.

As a second option, he suggested, the Council might decline approving a further extension, unless outstanding problems were resolved by specific dates. Consequently, plans should be prepared for a phased withdrawal of MINURSO. The Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Chinmaya R. Gharekhan, during a visit to the region in January 1995, had "unambiguously apprised" the parties and observer States of the sense of frustration felt by the Council at the "periodic and predictable" breakdowns in the process and at the absence of even a reasonably clear indication of when the process might end. He had also conveyed the Council's readiness to contemplate the withdrawal of the Mission, despite concern that it could have destabilizing effects on the region.

According to the report, POLISARIO had agreed to participate in the identification of all applicants included in the 1974 census, that is, those subfractions for which lists of sheikhs or alternates from both parties had already been established. However, POLISARIO continued to decline to cooperate in the identification of another group of applicants from certain tribal groups which were not represented by subfraction in the 1974 census. It held the view that applications from persons other than those belonging to subfractions specifically represented in the census were not admissible. Further, it would withdraw from the entire process if there was any attempt to identify such applicants with the participation of a sheikh from one side only.

In his discussions with POLISARIO, the Special Envoy had emphasized that the Identification Commission was obliged to process all applications submitted on time. The identification process was thus at a near standstill, the report stated. As a consequence, only 7,935 persons had been identified since 1 September 1995, bringing the total number of persons identified to 60,257 out of 76,992 convoked. With some 174,000 applicants remaining to be convoked for identification, it was clear that even if the process was to be immediately resumed and accelerated, the plan for a May 1996 referendum was no longer realistic.

New Force Commander

Major-General José Leandro of Portugal was appointed Force Commander of MINURSO, with effect from 1 April 1996. He replaced Brigadier-General André Van Baelen of Belgium. ■

Extradite suspects in attempt on Egyptian President's life, or face diplomatic sanctions

Sudan must take immediate action to extradite to Ethiopia three suspects wanted in connection with a 26 June 1995 assassination attempt on the life of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, or face diplomatic sanctions, according to the Security Council on 26 April.

The Council further demanded that Sudan desist "from assisting, supporting and facilitating terrorist activities and from giving shelter and sanctuary to terrorist elements", and begin henceforth acting in its relations with its neighbours and others in full conformity with the Charters of the UN and of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

In adopting resolution 1054 (1996) by a vote of 13 to none, with 2 abstentions (China, Russian Federation), the Council was acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. It did so after determining that Sudan's non-compliance with demands stated originally in resolution 1044 (1996) of 31 January constituted "a threat to international peace and security".

If Sudan did not comply by one minute after midnight Eastern Standard Time on 10 May, States would be required to significantly reduce the number and level of staff at Sudanese diplomatic missions and consular posts, and restrict or control the movement within their territories of remaining staff. In addition, entry into or transit through their territories of officials and members of the Sudanese Government and armed forces would be restricted. Sanctions would remain in effect until the Council determined that Sudan had complied with its demands.

In support of its action, the Council called for all States to act in strict conformity with those measures, despite any possible rights or obligations under prior international agreements or contracts. It also called on international and regional organizations not to convene any conferences in Sudan.

States are due to report back within 60 days from the resolution's adoption on measures taken by them to fulfil the provisions of the resolution. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was to report within 60 days of the 10 May deadline on the resolution's implementation. At that time, the Council would re-examine whether Sudan had complied with its demands and, if not, determine what further measures it might adopt.

Disavowal

Addressing the Council, Sudan called the assertion that it had not complied with resolution 1044 (1996) "amazing", noting that it had provided details of its efforts to apprehend the suspects *(S/1996/197)*. The demand that Sudan cease supporting terrorism "failed to clarify" the nature of those acts, their sources or the measures needed to comply with that demand. In addition, Sudanese President Omar Al-Bashir had sent the Council several letters containing complaints of "active aggression" perpetrated against Sudan by some neighbouring States. The sanctions, it contended, would undermine regional initiatives to resolve the matter and prove an obstacle to peace in the war-torn country.

Asserting that the facts about Sudanese involvement in the assassination attempt was "clear as day", Ethiopia said it had "no illusion" that resolution 1054 (1996) was strong enough to compel compliance, and it called for stronger sanctions. Egypt hoped the diplomatic measures would encourage Sudanese compliance.

Non-compliance

"It is obvious that the Sudan has not yet complied with the demand of the Security Council to extradite the three suspects to Ethiopia and that all the neighbours of the Sudan, visited by my Special Envoy, have accused the Sudan of supporting terrorist activities within their territories", concluded the Secretary-General in his 11 March report to the Council *(S/1996/179)*.

The Secretary-General's report on the implementation of resolution 1044 (1996) was based on information gathered by his Special Envoy, Chinmaya R. Gharekhan, during a mission to the region from 18 February to 2 March. (The Council on 8 February had welcomed and supported Mr. Boutros-Ghali's decision to send the Special Envoy to the area.)

The Secretary-General cited "basic differences" between the Sudanese and Ethiopian Governments concerning the suspects' whereabouts. Differences also prevailed with regard to the Council's demand that Sudan end its support of terrorist activities, with those neighbouring countries that were visited by the Special Envoy "unanimous in their conviction that the Sudan is actively engaged in supporting terrorist elements". Sudan denied knowledge of the suspects' whereabouts and had informed Mr. Gharekhan that it was itself "the victim of destabilizing activities encouraged and supported by its neighbours".

Under resolution 1044 (1996), the Council on 31 January had condemned the assassination attempt and deplored "the flagrant violation of the sovereignty and integrity of Ethiopia". Sudan was called on to comply with OAU requests to extradite the suspects and to cease its support of terrorist activities.

Sudanese Government aircraft on 17 and 22 February bombed airfields in southern Sudan used by international relief agencies and Operation Lifeline Sudan. The Secretary-General on 1 March called them "serious violations of international humanitarian law" that endangered the lives both of civilians in need of assistance and of humanitarian workers and flight crews. The disruption of their activities had serious implications for the continuation of the relief operations, he said, which bring assistance to over 4 million people. ■

Peace process gathering new momentum

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali hailed the Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and Agrarian Situation in Guatemala between the Government and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG), signed on 6 May, and declared that the Guatemalan peace process was "gathering new momentum".

The cessation of hostilities announced by both parties in March had continued and the suspension, as of 6 May, of the practice of "war tax" by the URNG would broaden support for the peace process within Guatemala, he stated. Advances in negotiations would, in turn, "facilitate the difficult struggle against impunity" to which the Government of President Alvaro Arzú was committed.

Better prospects for an early peace, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said, would also greatly enhance the impact and effectiveness of the UN Human Rights Verification Mission in Guatemala (MINUGUA), established on 19 September 1994 by General Assembly resolution 48/267.

In congratulating the parties on their achievements, the Secretary-General encouraged them to "build upon these developments as they begin consideration of the next item on the negotiations agenda, namely 'Strengthening civilian power and the role of the army in a democratic society'".

Based on a "shared perception that conflict resolution is inseparable from significant change in social and economic policy", the parties had agreed on measures to: permit wider participation in decision-making at all levels; increase and redirect government spending towards social development; promote a more efficient and equitable agrarian structure; modernize public administration; and produce a sustained increase in public revenue.

"At the heart of the strategies outlined in the Agreement is the concept, consistent with the thinking of the United Nations, that enhanced social participation in policy-making is key both to improved social justice and to sustainable economic growth", the Secretary-General stated.

The Agreement would enter into force with the signing of an Agreement on a Firm and Lasting Peace, which was to culminate the process of negotiations held under UN auspices since January 1994. At the parties' request and subject to UN authorization, MINUGUA would expand its activities to cover verification of all agreements reached, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said.

Praiseworthy steps

In welcoming the 20 March announcement by the URNG that it was "suspending temporarily offensive military operations" and the response of President Arzú, who was "issuing instructions to the Army to cease counter-insurgency operations", Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 21 March said those were "praiseworthy new steps" towards a "strengthening of the rule of law and a gradual demilitarization of political life" in Guatemala.

Those "very positive developments" would alleviate the suffering of the civilian population—a goal to which both parties are committed under the 29 March 1994 Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights—the Secretary-General stated. They would no doubt build further the sense of mutual confidence that had characterized relations between the Government and the URNG, and create a "climate conducive to democratic changes and the conclusion of a just settlement of the armed confrontation", he stressed.

Disturbing situation

MINUGUA Director Leonardo Franco on 24 February reported *(A/50/878)* that "serious and repeated human rights violations" had been committed in Guatemala from 21 August to 31 December 1995, and the overall human rights situation there was "disturbing". The continued high level of violence and lack of public safety—some 959 people had been killed and 1,455 injured —was "one of the issues of greatest public concern", he stated. The Mission had received nearly 3,000 complaints about human rights violations, a 39 per cent increase over the previous three-month period.

The Mission believed that "impunity was the main obstacle to the enjoyment of human rights" and that its persistence was attributable basically to the "absence of a State policy for combatting it, which prevented the identification and punishment of those responsible and heightened the public perception that justice cannot be obtained".

Nevertheless, there had been some positive steps, Mr. Franco noted, among them: the virtual cessation of forcible recruitment for military service; moderation in the use of force by the police and security forces; the army's tendency to show restraint in the armed conflict and its respect for the law in detaining some URNG members and turning them over to courts; the Interior Ministry's greater determination to investigate crimes; and guarantees given by the Government for the Mission's presence and the normal exercise of its mandate.

MINUGUA extended

The General Assembly on 3 April, in encouraging the Guatemalan parties to "strive for the earliest conclusion of a final peace agreement", renewed the MINUGUA mandate until 31 December 1996.

In adopting resolution 50/220, the Assembly also called upon the Government and the URNG to adopt "all necessary steps to eradicate the suffering of the civilian population, as well as measures aimed at building confidence between them". ■

Embarking on a 'road to peace, tolerance and prosperity'

The United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), set up by Security Council resolution 867 (1993), was extended on 29 February "for the final period of four months", until 30 June, in order to help the Government of Haiti sustain the "secure and stable environment which has been established" and professionalize the Haitian National Police.

By unanimously adopting resolution 1048 (1996), the Council also decided to decrease UNMIH's troop level to "no more than 1,200" and reduce the current level of civilian police personnel to "no more than 300". Concurrently, the Council asked all States to provide appropriate support for the actions undertaken by the UN in order to carry out the Mission's mandate. (Canada has sent a 700-strong military contingent to complement the UN forces.)

The Council also asked the Secretary-General to take steps for the Mission's further reduction, consistent with the implementation of its mandate, and "initiate planning" not later than 1 June 1996 for its complete withdrawal.

Member States were also urged to make voluntary contributions to the trust fund established by resolution 975 (1995) for the support of the Haitian National Police to "ensure that the police are adequately trained and fully operational, which is essential for the implementation of the mandate".

Formidable challenges

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 14 February, in recommending *(S/1996/112)* that UNMIH be extended for a "further period of six months", stated that "much remains to be done before it can be said that democratic rule is secure in Haiti and its people have embarked irreversibly on the road to peace, tolerance and prosperity".

Although Haitians could be proud of what had been done in the short period since the October 1994 return of constitutional government, they still faced "formidable challenges", he said. Important and useful as international assistance might be, it was "ultimately the Haitians themselves, and they alone, who are in charge of their present and responsible for their future", the Secretary-General stressed.

It was essential that the international community's continued commitment to Haiti at a time of acute financial crisis in the UN be "matched with a renewed commitment by the Haitian people, by their political and civil leaders, and by their Government", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated. "This opportunity is unique in Haiti's long and often turbulent history. It could not be missed without grave consequences", he declared. Therefore, Haitians "must mobilize their energies, put aside their differences and work together to rebuild their country in a way that brings benefit for all".

By the end of February, 5,200 newly trained Haitian National Police personnel had been deployed and over 750 new police graduates were being deployed. Haitian police officers were "generally well motivated and willing to work". They were "young and inexperienced, however, and lacked proper infrastructure and equipment", he added. The most serious concern was the "absence of competent senior officers and overall leadership", which had sometimes contributed to the "unwarranted or disproportionate" use of force and affected discipline, Mr. Boutros-Ghali noted.

The situation with regard to the penitentiary system remained critical. The lack of infrastructure and equipment hampered the functioning of the inexperienced and overburdened National Penitentiary Administration, he reported.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the French Government had agreed to co-finance a $2.9 million project, expected to begin by mid-February, for the rehabilitation of jails and the training of penitentiary personnel.

Public investments had continued, but private investments had remained sluggish, and instances of the flight of capital had appeared, the report stated. Local and foreign businessmen were cautious and uncertain about conditions after the departure of UNMIH. The rise in prices for food products had been sharper than the rise in the cost-of-living index, partly explaining the considerable increase in public demonstrations. Dependence on foreign assistance had remained high. The public investment or "development" budget was expected to be financed by foreign non-concessional and aid funds.

Continued support

The Secretary-General also paid tribute to Jean-Bertrand Aristide, former President of Haiti, for his "leadership and sagacity in steering Haiti on the road to democracy" and for the co-operation extended to UNMIH. He also assured the country's new President, René Préval, of the UN's continued support. President Préval, a close ally and supporter of Mr. Aristide, had won the 17 December 1995 presidential elections and had taken office on 7 February 1996.

Appointments

Enrique ter Horst of Venezuela on 5 March was named the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Haiti and Chief of UNMIH to succeed Lakhdar Brahimi of Algeria. Prior to that assignment, Mr. ter Horst had served as the Secretary-General's Special Representative for El Salvador.

On 4 March, Brigadier-General J. R. P. Daigle of Canada was named Commander of the UNMIH military component, to replace Major-General Joseph Kinzer of the United States, who was returning to national service. ■

Priorities for eliminating disparities through global partnership set at UNCTAD IX

Recognizing that disparities between and within nations could be eliminated only through a global partnership, member States of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) set priorities for policies and concrete action at the conclusion of the ninth session of the Conference (UNCTAD IX), held in Midrand, South Africa, from 27 April to 11 May.

Reaffirming their commitment to "partnership for development", the States adopted a political declaration and the Conference final text containing practical measures to help developing countries reap the benefits of globalization and development.

Noting that the impact of globalization and liberalization was uneven, the Declaration stated that the partnership for development must be based on a clear definition of roles, the establishment of common objectives, and the development of joint action. That called for stronger intergovernmental cooperation between developed and developing countries, as well as among developing nations, and effective coordination and complementarity of multilateral institutions. Further, it meant mobilization of resources through dialogue and common action between Governments and civil society, and partnership between the public and private sectors.

Focal point

The Declaration stated that UNCTAD's mandate remained relevant as the focal point for dealing with trade and related issues of development. It must build upon its comparative advantage and offer support to developing countries to ensure their participation in the world economy on an equitable basis. Its policy research and analytical work must illuminate the changes in the global economy as they related to trade, investment, technology, services and development, and must facilitate policy formulation as member States strove for development.

By its final text entitled *"A Partnership for Growth and Development"*, the Conference provided the organization with new orientation for its activities, which would include new and emerging trade and development issues of particular interest to developing countries on which UNCTAD could have substantial impact. Those issues included a multilateral framework for investment, enterprise development, and technology and services infrastructures. The Conference also streamlined the organizational machinery of UNCTAD to reflect the new orientation and make it more responsive to the needs of a rapidly changing world economy.

The adoption of the final document of UNCTAD IX was the culmination of intergovernmental deliberations that started more than a year ago at the Trade and Development Board, the governing body of UNCTAD.

AP/Wide World Photos

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali *(second from left)*, UNCTAD President Alec Erwin and South African President Nelson Mandela at the opening of UNCTAD IX on 27 April.

Negotiations were finalized at Midrand by a Committee of the whole, three drafting groups and several smaller groups which met throughout the Conference.

The Conference, which is held once every four years, was attended by more than 2,500 delegates from 135 countries. The next one will be held in Thailand in the year 2000.

Shared responsibility

"We have a shared responsibility to roll back the harsh effects of past policies, and we owe it to future generations not to perpetuate patterns of domination and dependence, of pessimism and crude self-interest", President Nelson Mandela of South Africa said at the inaugural ceremony of UNCTAD IX on 27 April.

"Our mission therefore, must be shaped by the real needs of those whom history had marginalized", he added. UNCTAD had to forge a new position in the world economy, so that it could accomplish in the twenty-first century the objectives for which it was established.

Despite immense economic and technological gains, the world at the end of the twentieth century was no more secure for most of its inhabitants, Mr. Mandela said. Greater market access and free or fair trade held no promise for those countries producing few goods and services with which to trade and with no market power to pursue their interests.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said that UNCTAD IX challenged the international community "to promote growth and sustainable development in a globalizing and liberalizing international economy". The Conference had pioneered the concept of interdependence and, while the world had changed, UNCTAD's basic mission remained—to ensure that international trade was a force for the durable development of all peoples and nations. "UNCTAD is certainly an irreplaceable—and I do mean irreplaceable—forum of the global community", he said.

Midrand Declaration

The Declaration stated that UNCTAD IX had responded to changes and challenges by initiating important reforms designed to give new and real meaning to the partnership for development. It noted that the economies of member States continued to be unified by flows of trade, finance, information and technological change. The increased interdependence was a powerful impetus to liberalization of those flows. Competitive pressure on all economies had increased and market forces played a pivotal role. The rules-based system of the World Trade Organization (WTO) would facilitate positive integration of countries into the global trading system, if the commitment to that objective was strengthened.

However, countries entered that system from very different starting points. Accordingly, the impact of globalization and liberalization was uneven. There were notable developing country successes where domestic reforms had provided increased dynamism to international trade and investment. Yet, there remained problems of access to markets, capital and technology, and many grappled with the institutional transformation necessary for meaningful integration into the world economy.

True partnership

The least developed countries, particularly those in Africa, as well as other developing countries, remained constrained by weak supply capabilities and were unable to benefit from trade, the Declaration continued. Marginalization, among and within countries, had been exacerbated. It was in the interest of all countries that a mutually beneficial multilateral trading system continued to develop, which required the recognition of differential impacts on countries and the solidarity necessary to ensure that all would benefit—a true partnership for development.

The partnership must be based on a clear definition of roles, the establishment of common objectives and the development of joint action. In practical terms, that meant strengthening intergovernmental cooperation between developed and developing countries and among developing ones, and more effective coordination and complementarity of multilateral institutions. It called for the mobilization of resources for development through dialogue, common action between Governments and the civil society, and partnerships between the public and private sectors.

At no time in world history had the destiny of all its many different peoples been so intertwined, the Declaration continued. That must lead to solidarity in action to eradicate poverty. It had been stated that "no one can do for us what we will not do for ourselves. Our challenge is to ensure that all human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development as an integral part of fundamental human rights, are promoted and protected."

Final Document

The final document of UNCTAD IX contained an analysis of the world economy from the perspective of developing countries. It focused on how their interests must be addressed and studied in order to give an operational approach to their understanding and solution.

Addressing the challenges arising from the globalization of production and the liberalization of trade, the document stated that those processes offered opportunities for all countries and enabled developing countries to play a more active role in the world economy. At the same time, they had increased the complexity of interdependence, as well as the risks of instability and marginalization. Some developing countries were already benefiting from those processes, and others were less well placed to seize those opportunities. Intensive efforts were needed to help developing countries, particularly the least developed, benefit from the process of global trade liberalization. Policies and programmes needed to integrate a gender perspective in order to contribute to women's empowerment.

The Conference reaffirmed the "partnership for development" concept. The concept of development had evolved from a narrow focus on economic growth and capital accumulation to that of a multidimensional undertaking with the ultimate goal of bettering the human condition. To confront the perpetuation of disparities between and within nations and the integration of environment and development concerns, a global partnership for sustainable development was required, as no nation could achieve those aims on its own.

Growth was a necessary condition for the economic, technological and social transformation of societies in developing countries, the text stated. But for economic growth to be widespread and sustainable, cooperation should be promoted based on broadly

shared conceptions of development problems. Democracy and accountable management were indispensable foundations for the realization of people-centred sustainable development. Human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development as an integral part of fundamental human rights, should be promoted and protected.

On measures to be taken to maximize the impact of globalization and minimize the risks of marginalization, UNCTAD member States set as their objective the full integration of developing countries, particularly the least developed countries and the economies in transition, into the world economy and the international trading system in order to enable them to reap the benefits of liberalization and globalization.

The Conference recommended that in pursuit of economic growth and sustainable development, all Governments should create a stable macroeconomic framework. They should undertake structural adjustment and reform, and ensure a legal and regulatory framework which promoted investment.

The Conference called for efforts to continue to address effectively the problems of heavily indebted low-income developing countries undertaking economic reforms whose growth prospects continued to be severely affected by their external debt problem. The Bretton Woods institutions were encouraged to expedite the ongoing consideration of ways to address the issue of multilateral debt.

The Conference recognized the need to revitalize and remodel UNCTAD's intergovernmental machinery and took measures to make it more efficient and responsive to the needs of a rapidly changing world economy. Among them were: focusing its activities; streamlining its budget; reducing the number of meetings; rationalizing its publications; and striving for better coordination and cooperation with relevant international organizations in order to strengthen complementarity.

Rubens Ricupero, Secretary-General of UNCTAD, said the organization must remain the guardian of the world's development conscience. New tools had to be developed for the least developed countries and those dependent on one or two commodities. New ways must be invented to create economic opportunities for the poor. He recalled that three tasks had faced him at his appointment in order to renew and revitalize UNCTAD: the organization's mission, its machinery and its instrument. "The mission is the mandate, and it is possible to say that there is now a clarified and strengthened mandate." It reinforced the role of

Photo/L. Bianco

Rubens Ricupero,
UNCTAD Secretary-General

UNCTAD as a forum for development, "concentrating on the forest, not on the trees". It reinforced the organization's commitment to ethical values and its technical and analytical work on trade and investment—a new and promising area.

The Conference had been restructured by of its member States' decision, he continued. The Conference had streamlined the number of bodies and reduced the number of the days of official meetings.

UNCTAD President Alec Erwin of South Africa said the Conference's success might be due to the roundtables where people spoke with a sense of urgency and passion about solving problems.

A major feature of the final document was that it did not grapple with every problem in the world economy but addressed key problems. Analysis and open-minded discussion and frankness had been the prerequisites for the Conference's success. Developing countries were beginning to confront their problems and that had already been reflected in the world economy as a whole.

The real challenge ahead was implementing the Declaration, he continued. Problems of countries were not overcome unless policies and institutions were put in place which were bigger than the government of the day. To really change people's lives, it was necessary to stand above one's own interests and even above one's own political party's interests. South Africa was committed to working hard in UNCTAD. "We will take our presidency seriously", working with the Secretary-General and the Secretariat to build on the new sense of rejuvenation and vitality and build upon the spirit of partnership.

Report to Conference

"The sole claim for the continued existence of UNCTAD is its ability to make a relevant contribution to fostering growth, reducing inequality and building its capacity to make a difference to people's lives", Mr. Ricupero said in his report to UNCTAD IX.

The private sector should be more involved in UNCTAD's work. Multilateral institutions had so far failed to give adequate room to non-governmental actors who were increasingly shaping world affairs, such as transnational companies and private investors, universities and research centres, the report added. By involving those actors, "we could help to convert the conference into a real partnership for development, making UNCTAD a model of what a truly international agency of the twenty-first century should be." ■

Sale of children must be eliminated

Development and gender issues stressed

Children are being sold for prostitution, pornography and adoption at an increasing rate worldwide. That was the harsh conclusion of Ofelia Calcetas-Santos, a Filipina lawyer serving as the Special Rapporteur on the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography, as she appealed to Governments to step up the fight to eradicate the sexual exploitation of children. She presented her report on 18 April to the fifty-second session of the Commission on Human Rights (Geneva, 18 March-26 April).

In Asia, at least 1 million children are involved in the sex trade, in conditions virtually indistinguishable from slavery, Ms. Calcetas-Santos estimated. Many are sold by relatives into sex rings that involve corrupt policemen and politicians. Globally, 1 million children join the ranks of the sexually exploited each year. She said that according to a recent United States Department of Health and Human Services report, up to 300,000 child prostitutes are walking the streets of the United States; many are no older than 11 or 12, and can be as young as 9.

Ms. Calcetas-Santos, who has a three-year mandate as Special Rapporteur, reported *(E/CN.4/1996/100)* equally harrowing allegations about the sale of children for pornography, adoption, labour, organ transplants and other purposes.

The Commission, on the basis of her report, expressed its profound concern that the situation of children in many parts of the world remained critical. It recommended that special rapporteurs, special representatives and working groups of the Commission and the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities pay special attention to situations in which children were in danger, including the plight of street children, exploitation of child labour, and children in armed conflicts, as well as children who were the victims of sale, child prostitution and child pornography. Governments were called on to take legislative, social and educational measures to ensure the protection of children from exploitation.

UNICEF Photo Marcus Halevi

One form of child exploitation is the sending of girls from rural areas to capital cities to become "entertainers".

Deeply concerned at the persistence of such violations, the Commission recommended that States adopt measures to eliminate the existing market for such practices, and requested the group drafting a related optional protocol to the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child to continue its work.

As regards this issue, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala Lasso will provide substantive support to the World Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, to be held in Stockholm in August.

A round-up of action

Meeting for six weeks, the 53-member Commission on Human Rights also adopted 83 other resolutions, as well as 14 decisions, the majority by consensus.

Among its measures, the Commission called for: the creation of an open-ended working group to develop policy guidelines for economic structural adjustment programmes and their effects on economic, social and cultural rights; and the holding by the Subcommission of a seminar of experts to develop guidelines on the subject of forced evictions.

The Commission extended the mandates of: Special Rapporteurs on freedom of expression and on contemporary forms of racism; the expert for the special process on missing persons in the former Yugoslavia; the Secretary-General's Special Representative on the situation of human rights in Iran; and special rapporteurs on human rights situations in the former Yugoslavia, Equatorial Guinea, Sudan, Afghanistan, Rwanda, Cuba, Myanmar, Iraq and Zaire.

Further meetings were authorized for working groups of the Commission on: a draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples; a draft declaration on protection of defenders of human rights; a draft optional protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict; and a draft optional protocol to the 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The Commission also endorsed a proposal to convene an additional two-week meeting of the Subcommission's working group on indigenous populations.

A subsidiary body of the Economic and Social Council, the Commission on Human Rights is the central UN body responsible for the promotion and protection of human rights. Established fifty years ago, it can deal with any matter related to human rights at its annual six-week meetings in Geneva.

Gender-based issues

Governments have a duty to refrain from engaging in violence against women and to take appropriate and effective action concerning acts of violence perpetrated against them, said the Commission, which also con-

demned all human rights violations against women in situations of armed conflict. These were violations of international human rights and humanitarian law, it stressed, calling for effective response to such violations, in particular, to murder, systematic rape, sexual slavery and forced pregnancy.

The Commission endorsed the decision of the Subcommission, its principal subsidiary body, to appoint Linda Chavez of the United States as Special Rapporteur to undertake an in-depth study of the situation of systematic rape, sexual slavery and slavery-like practices during armed conflict.

In a resolution on violence against women migrant workers, States were encouraged to enact or reinforce penal, civil, labour and administrative sanctions to punish and redress wrongs done to women and girls subjected to any form of violence. In a related text, the Commission urged countries of destination to adopt measures to prevent excessive use of force on the rights of all migrant workers and their families.

Right to development

The adoption, by consensus, of a resolution on the right to development was one of the "major achievements of the session", said Commission Chairman Gilberto Vergne Saboia of Brazil on 26 April. Reaffirming that the implementation of the 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development required perseverance and concrete efforts, the Commission decided to establish an intergovernmental group of 10 experts to elaborate a strategy for the implementation and promotion of the right to development.

Concerned by the negative effects of the growing deterioration of living conditions of the large majority of people in the developing world on the full enjoyment of human rights, the Commission affirmed that debt repayments "should not take precedence over the basic rights of the people of debtor countries to food, shelter, clothing, employment, health services and a healthy environment". International financial institutions were asked to report periodically to the General Assembly and the Council on repercussions of their policies on the enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights.

Country situations

In all, the Commission considered the human rights situations in over 30 countries and territories. It took action critical of the situations in: Equatorial Guinea, Iran, Nigeria, the former Yugoslavia, Cuba, Iraq, Zaire, Sudan, Afghanistan and Rwanda. It also adopted a measure condemning Israeli human rights violations in southern Lebanon and the western Bekaa, and called on Israel to end the bombardment of civilian targets in those areas. In one of several texts, the Commission also urged Israel to prevent any new installation of settlers in the occupied Arab territories. On the situation in Burundi, it urged the High Commissioner for Human Rights to increase immediately the number of human rights observers dispatched to the country.

In addition, four official statements by the Chairman were adopted which: expressed deep concern about continued cases of disappearances and torture in Colombia; deplored the indiscriminate destruction of life in Liberia; welcomed the visit to Indonesia of the High Commissioner for Human Rights to discuss the issue of East Timor; and called for an immediate, permanent cessation of bombardment of civilian towns and villages in the Russian Republic of Chechnya. The Commission rejected, in a no-action motion, a draft critical of the human rights situation in China.

Under its advisory services procedure, the Commission also considered human rights situations and programmes to promote human rights in Cambodia, Somalia and Haiti, and requested the Secretary-General to extend for a year the mandate of his independent expert on the situation in Guatemala. It voted to terminate consideration of the situation in Togo.

In closed meetings on 12 April, the Commission examined human rights situations in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Chad, Mali, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Slovenia, Thailand and Uzbekistan, and decided to discontinue consideration of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Mali, Nepal, Slovenia and Thailand.

Among its actions relating to the situations in various countries and territories, the Commission:

- condemned acts of genocide and violations of international humanitarian law on human rights in Rwanda and urged Governments to prevent their territories from being used for destabilizing activities;
- called on Nigeria to restore habeas corpus and release all detained political prisoners, trade-union leaders, human rights advocates and journalists;
- demanded that States arrest, detain and facilitate the transfer of persons indicted by the International Tribunal on the Former Yugoslavia to its custody, and ensure adequate protection of witnesses;
- urged Myanmar to allow the released Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi freedom of movement and open a political dialogue with her and other political leaders;
- expressed strong condemnation of "widespread terror" inflicted by Iraq, in particular, through summary and arbitrary executions, systematic torture, and cruel and unusual punishment;
- deplored cases in Zaire of torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment, violence against women, arbitrary detention, summary executions and solitary confinement, inhuman and degrading prison conditions, particularly for children;
- urged Sudan to investigate reported policies or activities which supported, condoned, encouraged or fostered the sale of or trafficking in children, separation of children from their families and social backgrounds or which subjected children to forced internment, indoctrination or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;
- urged all Afghan parties to halt the use of weapons against the civilian population, stop the laying of landmines and prohibit the recruitment of children as para-combatants;
- called on Equatorial Guinea to promote the "harmonious coexistence" of all its ethnic groups;

◆ called for an end to rights violations in Cuba.

Hostages

The Commission demanded that all hostages be released immediately and without any preconditions, and called on States to prevent, combat and punish the taking of hostages.

The Commission also called on the representative and regional intergovernmental organizations to strengthen initiatives to facilitate, through regional approaches, assistance to and protection of internally displaced persons. It also recommended that the Council approve the Subcommission's request that the Special Rapporteur on human rights and states of emergency continue updating lists of States which had proclaimed, extended or terminated states of emergency.

States should refrain from adopting "unilateral measures of a coercive nature" with extraterritorial effects, according to the Commission, which rejected the application of such measures as tools for political or economic pressure against any country, particularly developing countries.

Indigenous and minority issues

The Commission created a new agenda item called "Indigenous Issues" under which the human rights of indigenous populations would be discussed each year. It also welcomed the General Assembly's affirmation of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, the adoption of a declaration on the rights of indigenous people, and the creation of a permanent forum for them within the UN system.

The Commission endorsed recommendations that the final report of the Special Rapporteur on the protection of the heritage of indigenous peoples be transmitted as soon as possible, and that a second progress report of the Special Rapporteur on the study of treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between States and indigenous populations be submitted to the working group and the Subcommission.

Alarmed by acts of violence, intimidation and coercion motivated by religious extremism, the Commission condemned all such acts, including practices which discriminated against women.

UN Photo 155079/M. Grant

A woman of the Salaseca tribe washing wool in Ambato, Ecuador.

Noting the need to promote multi-ethnic and multi-cultural diversity and seek solutions to problems concerning minorities, it also adopted resolutions on the promotion of tolerance and mutual understanding, and on the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities.

Follow-up to the World Conference

Presenting his 18 March report *(E/CN.4/1996/103)* on the follow-up to the 1993 Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, entitled *"Making Human Rights a Reality"*, High Commissioner Ayala Lasso said human rights were "the basic link in the fence that holds together peace and development". While significant progress had been made in the last five decades in setting international norms and standards of human rights, he stressed, "the time has now come to make human rights a reality for people everywhere". Condemnation of human rights violations had to be made when necessary. However, "such condemnations should not be an end in themselves, but should be considered as part of the process of identifying durable solutions to serious human rights problems".

In follow-up to the World Conference, the Commission reaffirmed the importance of the promotion of universal respect for, and observance and protection of, all human rights and fundamental freedoms, as reaffirmed in the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action, and called for States to take further action in light of the Conference recommendations.

Other action

Among its various other measures, the Commission:

◆ urged the international community to give appropriate support to developing countries in their efforts to control the transboundary movement and dumping of toxic and dangerous products and wastes (32 in favour, 16 against, 3 abstentions);

◆ invited Governments to provide training in human rights and administration of justice, including juvenile justice, to all concerned with juvenile-justice matters;

◆ expressed concern at the extensive detention of, and threats and acts of violence and harassment against, persons exercising the right to freedom of opinion and expression;

◆ requested the Secretary-General to allocate more resources from existing UN funds to enable countries in Asia and the Pacific to benefit from all the activities under the programme of human rights advisory services and technical assistance;

◆ called on all States to ensure that their laws, policies and practices, including those introduced in the context of HIV/AIDS, respected human rights standards, prohibited discrimination and did not have the effect of inhibiting programmes for the prevention of HIV/AIDS, and for the care of infected persons, particularly women, children and vulnerable groups;

◆ demanded that Governments end all acts, methods and practices of terrorism, regardless of their motivation;

◆ strongly condemned all extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions. ■

Comprehensive nuclear test-ban 'imperative', says Secretary-General

It was "imperative to come up with a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty by June 1996", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the Conference on Disarmament on 19 March. "Nothing should divert you from your goal", he stated, in addressing the world's sole multilateral disarmament negotiating body, as it held the first part of its 1996 session (22 January-29 March, Geneva).

"I fully realize that ... your Conference has a very busy schedule", he said. "That is precisely why I decided to come and visit you. For I want to tell you with the utmost solemnity how much importance I attach to the success of your negotiations."

In asking the Conference participants to show "flexibility, open-mindedness, a spirit of compromise and the will to succeed", Mr. Boutros-Ghali urged them not to underestimate the historic work they were in the process of completing. "On the difficult road to nuclear disarmament, your success will be the success of future generations and of the whole human race", he declared.

The General Assembly, by resolution 50/65 of 12 December 1995, had pronounced the conclusion of a universal and multilaterally and effectively verifiable comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty a "task of the highest priority". It called upon all States participating in the 38-member Conference on Disarmament, particularly the nuclear-weapon States, to conclude such a treaty, so as to enable its signature by the outset of the Assembly's fifty-first session. The Conference was to continue negotiations on the issue during the second part of its annual session, scheduled to be held from 13 May to 28 June.

'Energetic support'

A comprehensive test-ban would be a "necessary step towards the broader goal of full nuclear disarmament", John D. Holum, Director of the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, stated on 23 January, as he read out President Bill Clinton's message to the Conference.

In pledging his country's "full and energetic support" for the conclusion by June 1996 of a "treaty so long sought and so long denied", he said such a ban was "vital to constrain both the spread and further development of nuclear weapons. Let us now take this historic step together", he urged.

The Russian Federation had been "consistently in favour of a complete and general nuclear test-ban" and considered such a measure as an "overdue and important step to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons and their qualitative improvement", that country's delegate, Grigori Berdennikov, told the Conference on 7 March. Since its independence, the Russian Federation had "not conducted a single nuclear explosion, rigorously observing the moratorium it had declared".

Joelle Bourgois of France on 4 March said her country—with its decisions to end the nuclear tests, adhere to the Treaty of Rarotonga, and close the Pacific nuclear-test sites at Mururoa and Fangataufa—had provided an "exceptional gesture" which illustrated its "confidence in the possibility of success in the negotiations under way".

Zukang Sha of China felt that the Conference was "on the right track" as far as the treaty negotiations were concerned which, however, should be accelerated "so as to make progress at the earliest date". As to a specific date, it could be 30 June, earlier than that or even later, since relevant Assembly resolutions had "not targeted 30 June as an absolute deadline". What was important was to "solve the problems in a pragmatic manner", he stated.

Salman Haidar, Foreign Secretary of India, while welcoming the progress in negotiations on a test-ban, said that "large gaps remain in areas central to the purpose of the treaty". His country, which believed that the ban should bring about a "halt to the qualitative development, upgrading and improvement of nuclear weapons" and mark the "first irreversible step towards genuine nuclear disarmament within a time-bound framework", was concerned that "new justifications for retaining those weapons" had been recently put forward and "new roles" were envisaged for them. In that regard, India had presented proposals designed to ensure that the treaty was "indeed an integral step in a time-bound process of global nuclear disarmament".

Ukraine, which viewed the conclusion of a test-ban treaty as an "extremely important element of the process of ending the nuclear arms race", had been the first State in the world to have declared its intention to eliminate nuclear weapons deployed in its territory, its Foreign Minister, Hennadiy Udovenko, stated on 21 March. That decision had been adopted under the conditions of the so-called "Chernobyl syndrome" and the understanding of what a nuclear disaster could bring about, he said. It had also been influenced by estimates indicating that the maintenance of the third largest nuclear arsenal in the world would cost Ukraine "tremendous resources, Mr. Udovenko added.

On 28 March, the Chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear Test-Ban, Jaap Ramaker of the Netherlands, presented an outline of a draft Comprehensive Test-Ban Treaty, which for the first time reflected in treaty text the positions of all delegations. In presenting the draft, the Chairman took into account the draft treaties which were presented earlier in the session by Australia and Iran. Delegations were asked to consult with their respective capitals on the Chairman's draft text, in particular, on the major outstanding issues which required political decision-making, so as to allow the Conference to conclude its negotiations on a comprehensive test ban treaty during the second part of its session. ■

New curbs on anti-personnel mines enacted by Review Conference

Further restrictions on the use, production and transfer of anti-personnel land-mines were endorsed on 3 May by the Review Conference of States Parties to the 1980 Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects.

The Conference acted by adopting an amended Protocol II to the Convention, prohibiting the use of non-detectable anti-personnel mines. The 55 States parties agreed that all mines produced after 1 January 1997 must contain at least eight grammes of iron or the equivalent to make them detectable. The scope of the Protocol's application was also extended to cover armed internal conflicts.

Prohibitions on the use of mines designed to detonate during detection operations and of "any mine, booby-trap or other devise designed, or of a nature to, cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering", were enacted. In addition, the use of "remotely delivered mines, which would have to be constructed so that they self-destruct within 30 days of emplacement with 90 per cent reliability, was restricted. Such mines, according to the amended Protocol, must have a "back-up self-deactivation feature", so that no more than one in 1,000 would be functional in 120 days.

Mines delivered non-remotely outside marked areas must also adhere to these requirements, although if a party to the Protocol determined that it could not immediately comply, it might declare that it would defer adherence with respect to older mines for a "period not to exceed nine years".

The new restrictions were to apply not only to States, but "parties to a conflict" as well. The parties also agreed that States that accepted the amended Protocol II would not transfer any mines prohibited by that instrument.

In a Final Declaration, States parties also agreed to hold the next Convention Review Conference no later than the year 2001, and solemnly declared their commitment to continue to strive for a complete ban on the transfer of all anti-personnel mines in the context of their eventual elimination. ■

Draft on arms transfers viewed as 'important step forward'

A set of draft guidelines for international arms transfers was adopted by the Disarmament Commission on 7 May, as it ended its 1996 substantive session (22 April-7 May, New York).

The Commission—a deliberative body with universal membership, mandated to make recommendations on disarmament issues—took that action by adopting its report to the fifty-first General Assembly, incorporating the reports of its two working groups on international arms transfers and on the holding of a fourth General Assembly session on disarmament.

In closing remarks, Commission Chairman Wolfgang Hoffman of Germany said the session had been an "important step forward". For the first time since 1993 when the Assembly had adopted the guidelines for regional disarmament, a working group had "achieved concrete results".

According to Gheorghe Chirila of Romania, Chairman of the Working Group dealing with arms transfers, the guidelines focused primarily on illicit arms trafficking, and also offered some important developments in the general framework of international arms transfers. The Group's report was meant to provide a "balanced and constructive contribution" to the promotion of a set of principles for the conduct of States in the "sensitive and increasingly important domain of micro-disarmament", the monitoring and promotion of self-restraint in that field, "without affecting the legitimate right of States to self-defence", he stated.

The completion of the set of guidelines was a response to Assembly resolution 46/36 H of 6 December 1991, which had called upon States to give high priority to eradicating illicit trade in all kinds of weapons and military equipment. By resolution 50/70 J of 12 December 1995, the Assembly had again asked the Disarmament Commission to "expedite its consideration of the agenda item on international arms transfers, with special emphasis on the adverse consequences of the illicit transfer of arms and ammunition".

Despite "deep-seated differences", the exchange of views on a fourth General Assembly session on disarmament had been distinguished by a surprising display of good will, realism and a spirit of cooperation and understanding, the Chairman of Working Group II, Luvsangiin Erdenechuluun of Mongolia, stated on 7 May.

While there was broad support for the convening of a fourth session, divergent views were put forward on its scope and timing. The Non-Aligned Movement countries favoured a decision on the date by the end of the next Assembly session, while the European Union, along with the United States and New Zealand, called for a consensus resolution on the date, and questioned the convening of such a session in light of other disarmament meetings and conferences already scheduled. There was general agreement, however, on the need for careful preparation and specific, agreed objectives before the session was convened. ■

Small satellites, space debris, sharing outer space benefits considered by two Subcommittees

UN Photo 191865/Evan Schneider

On 22 April, astronauts from Canada, Germany, the Russian Federation and the United States, who comprised the crew of the second Shuttle-Mir Docking Mission, presented to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali *(holding flag, right)* the UN flag they had carried into space in November 1995. Also present was Samir Sanbar, Assistant Secretary-General for Public Information *(second from right)*.

Prospects for using small satellites to bring the benefits of space technology to developing countries and discoveries in measuring and assessing the dangers posed by space debris—man-made objects in orbit around the Earth, including defunct and fragmentized satellites—were among the key issues reviewed by the thirty-third session (12-23 February, Vienna) of the Scientific and Technical Subcommittee of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space.

The Committee's other subsidiary body—the Legal Subcommittee—ended its thirty-fifth session (18-28 March, Vienna) with a new compromise text on how best to ensure that the benefits of space research were shared with developing countries. The draft, formulated as a resolution for the General Assembly's consideration, represented a breakthrough in debate on the subject, since it emphasized that States were free to determine all aspects of their cooperation in the exploration and use of outer space on an equitable and mutually acceptable basis. Modes of cooperation would be tailored to suit the countries concerned.

An earlier proposal by Brazil and 11 other developing countries had focused on the development of indigenous space capabilities by all States, exchange of material and equipment, and transfer of technology. A counter-proposal, sponsored by Germany and France, had stressed that States' participation in such cooperation should be guided by the need to allocate resources efficiently.

Among other issues, the Legal Subcommittee found that there was no need to review or revise the principles governing the use of nuclear power sources in outer space, adopted by the Assembly in 1992.

It continued discussion on the definition of outer space and the use of the geostationary orbit, which is located approximately 22,300 miles directly above the Equator and permits continuous contact between a satellite and a single ground station. Satellites in that orbit appear to be stationary in the sky, since their orbits are synchronized with the earth's rotation.

The Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, in noting that relatively low cost micro- and small satellites could make significant space capabilities accessible to a wide range of users, including students, engineers and scientists in many countries, recommended that the UN Space Applications Programme should devote more attention to those issues. Following the Subcommittee's 12 and 13 February meetings, a symposium on the use of such satellites to meet the needs of developing countries was held.

Also, in line with a multi-year plan adopted in 1995 for dealing with space debris, the Subcommittee formulated a chapter on their measurement, covering a wide range of methods. Chapters on modelling of the debris environment and on mitigation options were to be added in coming years.

The session also showed signs of a general move towards agreement on convening a third UN Conference on the Exploration and Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (UNISPACE III), following several years of debate on the question. The emerging consensus was based on an event of restricted duration—no longer than one week—and scope that could cover the intended objectives. Two earlier conferences had been held in Vienna in 1968 and 1982.

Other issues discussed by the Subcommittee related to: the use of nuclear power sources in outer space; remote sensing; geostationary orbit; regional centres for space science and technology education in developing countries; space transportation systems and planetary exploration; developments in astronomy and space medicine; and progress in the International Geosphere-Biosphere (Global Change) Programme. ■

Cash crunch continues as debt nears $3 billion

UN downsizes and looks for savings

Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management Joseph E. Connor, speaking at a news conference on 29 April, said that a week earlier, the United States—by a significant margin the UN's largest debtor—had approved a national budget that included $256 million ($122 million for the regular budget and $134 million for peace-keeping) more for the UN than the Organization had originally expected. However, Mr. Connor said, the appropriation actually represented late payments for the regular and peace-keeping 1995 budget assessments.

The Russian Federation—the second largest Member State debtor—had earlier announced it would pay $400 million in 1996, of which $46 million would cover its full payment for the 1996 regular budget.

While the cash crunch was expected to ease temporarily as Member States made payments in the coming months, Mr. Connor warned that the UN would be forced to dip into the peace-keeping accounts in August. Even with the projected payments, he forecast a negative cash balance of $200 million in the regular budget by year's end. The UN is precluded by its rules from borrowing from outside financial institutions.

While welcoming the latest commitments, Mr. Connor, a former Chairman of the accounting firm of Price Waterhouse, displayed some caution, saying that "promises are good, but cash is better".

Debt and downsizing

The UN debt, which has been accumulating for a number of years, totalled $2.8 billion—$1.7 billion for peace-keeping and $1.1 billion for the regular budget—as of 30 April. The United States alone owes more than half: $1.5 billion in current and past debts for the regular budget and for peace-keeping operations. Russia owes $401 million; Ukraine holds the number three spot, racking up $245 million in debt.

UN Photo 185,263 J. Isaac

Under-Secretary-General for Administration and Management Joseph E. Connor

Forced to borrow from its peace-keeping account, the UN is also falling farther behind in its payments to countries that contribute troops and equipment for peace-keeping operations. They are now owed close to $800 million.

> "Promises are good, but cash is better"

Appropriations of $2.61 billion for the regular budget 1996-1997 were adopted on 23 December 1995 by the General Assembly (resolution 50/214). The Assembly, in approving the budget, requested that reductions amounting to $154 million be achieved during the biennium and Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was asked to report back with proposals to achieve the necessary additional savings.

On 28 March, the Secretary-General said that an overall reduction of approximately $140 million had been found through changes in programme delivery and services, efficiency gains related to procedural simplification, and the vacating of 800 posts for the biennium *(A/C.5/50/57)*. The additional requested savings appeared feasible through further improvements in efficiency and administrative procedures, and proposals in that regard would be submitted no later than the next Assembly session in September 1996. "The human and financial costs", he stressed, "should not be underestimated." (As of the end of April, 700 posts had been vacated, with a further 100 cuts expected soon.)

Strengthening the system

On 11 March, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali called for a streamlined, more responsive Secretariat, as well as for a better balance in the functioning and responsibilities of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council, and for an Organization in which all the principal organs worked in a more balanced way. That would "go a long way towards advancing policy coordination throughout the system", he told the High-level Working Group on the Strengthening of the UN System.

"We must be clear about our priorities; we must shape our missions to our means; we must not spread ourselves too thin; and we must act not only on the symptoms, but also on the root causes of problems", the Secretary-General stressed. With the UN becoming increasingly important to efforts to contain conflicts, redress inequalities, and combat poverty, he considered change to be necessary.

Since taking office in 1992, Mr. Boutros-Ghali has initiated a series of reform and budget-cutting measures. These have included consolidating 13 offices into 3 departments, establishing accountability standards, strengthening managerial training, cutting the regular 1994-1995 and 1996-1997 budgets, supporting the appointment of an inspector-general for internal oversight, and overseeing significant staff reductions. ■

Poll, letters show strong US public support for UN

A new poll conducted for the non-governmental United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA) by the respected Wirthlin Group has found strong support among the United States public for the UN.

On UN funding, 64 per cent of Americans believed the United States "should always pay its full dues to the UN on schedule", while just 28 per cent supported withholding dues to press other countries to accept reform proposals. Nearly half of all Americans believed their country's regular assessment to the UN should reflect its share of world income, while just over one third felt the assessment should be capped at a rate lower than the current 25 per cent.

Over half of the respondents believed the UN was doing a good job in trying to solve the problems it had to face, while about a third felt it was doing a poor job. The survey also found that "all other things being equal, if one candidate for President wanted to weaken the United Nations and another wanted to strengthen it", United States citizens would vote for the one who would strengthen it by a margin of 71 per cent to 19 per cent. A majority would also judge a Congressional candidate in part on UN issues.

At an 11 April press conference announcing the results, UNA-USA chairman John C. Whitehead, who served as Deputy Secretary of State under President Ronald Reagan, said the wide margins demonstrated that "there is almost overwhelming support of the United Nations from the American public". The survey of Americans 18 and older had a 3 per cent margin of error.

From grandparents to kids (and some pets), people reach out to UN

As if further proof of the strength of grass roots support for the UN were needed, ample evidence is pouring into the world Organization in the form of letters and checks from United States citizens and, increasingly, citizens of other Member States. From grandparents to children (and on behalf of a few pets), people are pitching in to make small but heartfelt monetary contributions to the UN at a time it faces its greatest financial crisis.

The phenomenon seems to have begun in October 1995 when American and other non-governmental organizations (NGOs) took the initiative in promoting full and timely payments of dues by Member States and in increasing public support and awareness of the UN.

UNA-USA chairman John Whitehead on 30 October wrote to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali expressing his embarrassment at his Government's refusal to live up to its treaty obligation. He calculated that, with a total debt of $1.1 billion (since risen), every American citizen owed about $4.40. Citizens for Funding the UN (CFUN), another United States NGO, has launched a similar initiative, calling for "a massive outpouring of views directed to Congress and the President".

The Executive Committee of NGOs associated with the UN Department of Public Information, representing over 1,500 NGOs worldwide, also is asking for active participation by members in a drive for increasing public support through, among other actions, a letter writing campaign and the payment of symbolic amounts to the UN.

What began as a trickle has become a flood. In April alone, the UN received 572 checks. As of the end of that month, the total collected since the write-in campaigns began amounted to $16,120.41. The money, gratefully accepted, must be deposited, under UN rules, into a reserve fund on which the Secretary-General may draw to meet ongoing obligations. It does not reduce the amount owed by a Member State.

The following are some excerpts from a few of the always stirring, sometimes humorous letters:

"As a young person, living in today's world, I see the UN for what it is ... what President Kennedy called 'our last, best chance for peace'. I hope that as my generation begins to make political choices and compete for offices, we Americans rededicate ourselves to fulfilling the vision set forth in the UN Charter. Thank you for your work and good luck in this difficult time."

"In honor of those United Nations employees who struggle so valiantly against hunger, poverty and war, please accept this humble offering of $44.00 on behalf of myself and my family."

"The enclosed is our contribution towards diminishing the shameful U.S. debt. It comes from Hilary, Debi and Roni (both born in India but now U.S. citizens) Smith along with Cupie and Kiddo the cats and Daisy the dog who is in all other respects not a model citizen but much loved never-the-less. We're extremely glad you're there."

"I am enclosing $4.40 for myself, $4.40 for my dog Shagoluk (as suggested in the Times), and $25 for a childhood debt. Growing up in Manhattan in the 50s, I used to trick-or-treat for UNICEF on Halloween, like so many children. At the end of the evening I'd have a bunch of pennies. Being a sophisticated city kid, I rationalized that the UN didn't really need small change, and you couldn't mail pennies anyway. So I kept the money for candy. I figure that, by now, those years of pennies would have accumulated enough interest to be worth at least $25."

"Having lived in developing countries with my father, who worked for the UNDP (UN Development Programme), I have seen the impact that the UN can have on ordinary lives. It's a shame that the U.S. hasn't been supporting this worthy organization." ■

Reproductive rights and health discussed

The Commission on Population and Development, at its twenty-ninth session in New York from 26 February to 1 March, called for an accelerated international response to the challenges of the Programme of Action adopted in Cairo by the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in the fields of reproductive rights and reproductive health.

It also emphasized the importance of information, education and communication as part of a follow-up strategy to the Cairo Conference, and urged the UN's Population Division to highlight the efforts of Governments in those areas.

It also adopted another resolution expressing regret that the work programme of the Population Division had to be adjusted to take into account the cash-flow situation of the UN and urged that essential elements of the programme not be adversely affected.

The five-day session marked the first time that the Commission was meeting since its membership was expanded by the General Assembly from 27 to 47. This session, held on the Commission's fiftieth anniversary, was the first to follow the multi-year work programme adopted in the wake of the Cairo Conference. It focused on the topic of "reproductive rights and reproductive health, including population information, education and communication".

In the general debate, some speakers described the new bodies that had been created in their countries to monitor and implement the recommendations of the Cairo Programme of Action. Others described their efforts to harmonize national population and development strategies with the goals of the Programme. Those strategies reflected a shift away from quantitative goals towards concern over quality of care and overall indicators of development, such as school enrolment and maternal and child health care. Another issue highlighted was the critical role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in meeting the reproductive health needs of individuals, particularly through information, education and advocacy.

Speakers also welcomed the recent expansion of the Population Information Network (POPIN) to encompass a Web site, including publications, newsletters, statistical tables and other information. Several participants described how databases and CD-ROMs were being used to compile and disseminate demographic data.

> "The world's population four years from now will be approximately 6.2 billion people"

Joseph Chamie, Director of the Population Division, recalled that in 1946, when the Commission had been founded, the Division had estimated that the world's population in the year 2000 would be 6.3 billion, and some delegates had thought such unprecedented growth to be inconceivable. "As many of you are aware, our latest figures confirm these earlier projections; the world's population four years from now will be proximately 6.2 billion people", he said on 26 February.

Current projections estimated that in 2050 the world's population would reach nearly 10 billion, he added. The 42 countries currently on the Commission—five have still to be elected—would represent some 7 billion people, well over the world's current population level of 5.7 billion. "Today, there are few delegates or observers who would believe that such projections are demographic exercises with little policy relevance."

Among the controversial and sensitive problems which the Commission would face in the coming years were those of abortion, the ageing of populations, the HIV/AIDS pandemic, and international migration. Such issues would have to be dealt with in an objective and comprehensive manner, he said.

Dr. Nafis Sadik, Executive Director of the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), said that her Organization was working with experts to develop guidelines on the quality of reproductive health care to create an objective system which would be applicable in a wide variety of cultures and economic situations, while also being sensitive to local and individual conditions.

Gender concerns were increasingly being taken into account in programme design and implementation, she added. Programmes were becoming more sensitive to the needs of women and girls, but efforts were also being made to make men aware of their responsibilities. Many countries had initiated programmes to meet the reproductive health needs of adolescents and had put their needs on the political agenda.

World population monitoring

An important document before the Commission was the Secretary-General's 15 January report on world population monitoring, 1996: reproductive rights and reproductive health *(E/CN.9/1996/2)*, which summarized information on such topics as entry into reproductive life, reproductive behaviour, contraception, abortion, maternal mortality and morbidity, and sexually transmitted diseases.

1996 Population Award

The 1996 Population Award was shared by Leticia Ramos-Shahani, a leading advocate for population policies and programmes from the Philippines, and Pathfinder International, a United States-based NGO that helps start and manage population programmes worldwide. They will receive a diploma, a gold medal and a monetary prize of $12,500. ■

Preparatory Committee discusses draft for International Criminal Court

A further step towards the creation of an international criminal court to deal with genocide, war crimes, crimes against humanity, and aggression was taken, as the Preparatory Committee on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court undertook a comprehensive analysis of the draft statute of the proposed court, which had been elaborated by the International Law Commission.

The Committee, which met in New York from 25 March to 12 April, approved a six-part draft summary of proceedings, covering discussions of such areas as the scope of jurisdiction and definition of crimes, aggression, serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in armed conflict, and crimes against humanity.

In a closing statement, Preparatory Committee Chairman Adriaan Bos of the Netherlands said that the session had collected useful documents on each of the important issues before it. Everyone was aware of the issues involved and it had become clear that certain parts of the draft statute, particularly the criminal law aspects, needed some further effort.

The Preparatory Committee, established under General Assembly resolution 50/46 of 11 December 1996, will meet again from 12 to 30 August, to deal with issues which had not been covered by the spring session, e.g. the institutional aspects of setting up the Court. Following that meeting, it will submit its report on the proposed international criminal court to the fifty-first Assembly.

Judicial organ

The international criminal court is envisaged as an independent permanent judicial organ to be established by a multilateral treaty. It would not be a full-time body, but would operate when required, although the possibility that it could remain permanently in session if its caseload so required had not been excluded. The court would be available to States parties to its statute and, in certain situations, to the Security Council. It is intended to complement national criminal justice systems in prosecuting and suppressing crimes of international concern.

Draft statute

The 60-article draft statute of the proposed court provides for a relationship with the UN, either by its becoming a part of the organic structure of the Organization or by a treaty. The Court could only operate effectively if brought into close relationship with the UN for administrative purposes and because part of its jurisdiction would be consequential upon decisions by the Security Council.

The draft contemplated two categories of crimes: those under general international law, such as genocide, aggression, serious violations of the laws and customs applicable in armed conflict (war crimes), and crimes against humanity; and those covered by treaty provisions.

There was general agreement in the Preparatory Committee that the crimes to be prosecuted by the court should be limited to the most serious "core crimes" of international concern —genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes.

Many emphasized that crimes to be adjudicated must be precisely defined, consistent with the universal legal principles of ***nullum crimen sine lege*** (no crime without law) and ***nullum poene sine lege*** (no penalty without law).

Several delegations said that the crimes to be considered by the court were the crimes of decision makers and policy planners. The court would be prosecuting widespread and systematic crime, not isolated incidents. Some said that the court's statute must make provision for the prosecution of complicity, conspiracy and attempt.

The prosecution of genocide by the court was a relatively simple matter, most speakers said. A widely accepted definition for that crime could be found in the 1948 Genocide Convention, the provisions of which had become part of customary international law. It was also pointed out that genocide was in the list of crimes within the purview of the tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and for Rwanda. Some delegates called for extending the definition of genocide to include systematic crimes against social and political groups; most preferred addressing those offences as crimes against humanity.

As to war crimes, there was general support for the court's prosecution of grave breaches of the 1949 Geneva Conventions. Many delegates said that the Conventions' Protocol I, which deals with international conflicts, had become part of customary international law.

Forced labour

Others called for the prosecution of enslavement, forced labour, unlawful deportation, imprisonment in violation of due process and international norms, torture (as defined in the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment), rape, sexual abuse and forced prostitution, particularly when associated with ethnic cleansing and persecution on political, racial or religious grounds.

Delegations were divided over the inclusion of aggression among the core crimes and whether the Security Council should determine the existence of an act of aggression prior to its prosecution by the court. Several noted that aggression had never been legally codified in an international treaty and that the UN Charter had left the matter to be determined by the Council on a case-by-case basis.

While the International Law Commission's draft statute contains provision for the court's prosecution of treaty-based crimes, such as those proscribing the seizure of aircraft, apartheid, crimes against internation-

ally protected persons, hostage-taking and torture, most delegations urged that the court focus on the "core crimes". They said that the inclusion of treaty crimes could extend the process of deliberation endlessly, while the international community was eagerly awaiting the establishment of the court. National authorities were best equipped to carry out those prosecutions, and consideration by an international jurisdiction would be impractical.

Basic jurisdiction

On the issue of the court's jurisdiction, many speakers proposed that it should enjoy basic jurisdiction over the "core crimes" of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes. Several said that a permanent international criminal court without such jurisdiction would lose much of its potential value and that States should not be allowed room to manoeuvre by "opting in" or "opting out" of its jurisdiction.

Some speakers, on the other hand, proposed a jurisdiction based on consent, with the court adopting the "opting in" approach, since it could not carry out prosecutions effectively without the cooperation of both the territorial State (in which the crime was committed) and the custodial State (which had custody of the suspect). Still others suggested that the court should only have jurisdiction over genocide or when a matter was referred to it by the Security Council.

Special Committee on UN Charter

The Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization has asked the General Assembly to consider the question of an organizational framework for addressing further the question of the implementation of the provisions of the Charter relating to assistance to third States affected by the application of sanctions under Chapter VII.

At its two-week session (New York, 21 February-6 March), the Special Committee also called for expedited preparation and publication of supplements to the *United Nations Repertory of Practice of the UN Organs* and *the Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council*.

The Special Committee is mandated to examine issues relating to the maintenance of international peace and security, the peaceful settlement of disputes, and the strengthening of the role of the Organization.

New judge for ICJ

Gonzalo Parra-Aranguren of Venezuela was elected by the General Assembly on 28 February to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to serve the remainder of the term of his compatriot, Judge Andres Aguilar Mawdsley, who died on 24 October 1995. The term will end on 5 February 2000.

Since 1985, Mr. Parra-Aranguren has been a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague. He has also been a member of the Legal Advisory Committee of Venezuela's Ministry of Foreign Affairs since 1984, and of the Legal Advisory Council of the National Congress since 1990.

ICJ celebrates fiftieth anniversary

The primacy of international law was crucial for maintaining peace, freedom and security, the President of the fiftieth General Assembly, Diogo Freitas do Amaral of Portugal, said at a ceremony in The Hague marking the fiftieth anniversary of the ICJ. Expressing his satisfaction at the World Court's actions through the past 50 years, Mr. Freitas do Amaral said the UN, more than any other organization, had contributed to establishing the primacy of international law. ■

Seabed Authority elects Secretary-General, 36-member Council

Satya N. Nandan, former Special Representative of the Secretary-General for the Law of the Sea, was elected on 21 March as the first Secretary-General of the International Seabed Authority. Mr. Nandan was elected by consensus by the Authority's Assembly following the withdrawal of the other three candidates. The Assembly concluded the first part of its second session on 22 March in Kingston, Jamaica, after having constituted its 36-member Council.

The Authority is the organization through which States Parties to the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea organize and control activities in the international seabed area, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, particularly with a view to administering the mineral resources of the deep seabed.

Progress in establishing the Council had been delayed by disagreement over the distribution of seats.

Budget for Tribunal adopted

The meeting of States Parties to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea, at its fourth session held in New York from 4 to 8 March, approved a budget of $6,170,900 for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea and its Registry or administrative body, for an initial period of 1 August 1996 to 31 December 1997. The Tribunal is to be financed by contributions from States Parties.

The Tribunal, which will be based in Hamburg, Germany, is the central mechanism of the compulsory dispute settlement system established by the Convention. Its 21 judges are expected to be elected at the next meeting of the States Parties, to be held from 24 July to 2 August. ■

1997 Special General Assembly Review of Agenda 21 should 'revitalize' international commitment to sustainable development

Calling for a re-energizing of commitments and a focus on practical decisions, the Commission on Sustainable Development concluded its fourth session on 3 May by issuing several recommendations to guide the June 1997 special session of the General Assembly, which will review five years of progress in implementing Agenda 21—the global action plan that emerged from the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED).

The Assembly's special session should "work to revitalize the international commitment to the concept of sustainable development and boost the momentum for concrete proposals of action", said Commission Chairman Rumen Gechev of Bulgaria. It should recognize the "unmet objectives" of Agenda 21—a global blueprint for achieving sustainable development—and assess the reasons for that failure. It should also focus on raising the profile of issues which had not been sufficiently addressed at UNCED, including urban issues, transportation, renewable energy and risk management, and define priorities for the years after 1997.

Cross-sectoral issues

The Commission, which is charged with monitoring progress made by Governments and the international community in implementing Agenda 21, also reviewed for the first time implementation of the action plan related to oceans and seas. Other Commission discussions focused on cross-sectoral issues such as the need to change production and consumption patterns, improve the use of renewable energy sources, and raise levels of financial assistance and technology cooperation to achieve sustainable development, as well as sectoral concerns like forests and the atmosphere.

In all, the Commission adopted 24 decisions on wide-ranging issues during its two-week session (18 April-3 May, New York).

Recommendations for the special Assembly review in 1997 emanated from the Commission's two-day high-level segment, which brought together Government ministers, as well as all past chairmen of the Commission, the UNCED Secretary-General and a variety of other high-level officials with diverse areas of expertise. The session also featured a special panel on youth, in which young people from around the world shared their concerns and offered policy recommendations to Government ministers.

The Commission recommended that the 1997 review give special attention to post-UNCED institutional arrangements, in order to ensure their continued relevance and increased effectiveness in the years to come. It also requested intergovernmental bodies to take into account the outcome of the 1997 review and the decisions of the Commission, and decided to keep the issue of identifying generally recognized principles of international law as they pertained to sustainable development under review for further consideration at the special Assembly session.

Preparatory work for the special session should examine the institutional implications for forging new alliances for sustainable development between the UN and other major relevant organizations, including the Global Environmental Facility, the Bretton Woods institutions, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, as well as between Governments and civil society, the Commission said. Governments and international organizations were encouraged to involve major groups' representatives in the preparations for the 1997 review process at the national level. The Assembly was invited to make arrangements for their active involvement in the special session.

Marine environment

In its first review of follow-up related to oceans and seas, the Commission recommended that the Economic and Social Council approve a periodic review of all aspects of the marine environment and related issues. The Commission also emphasized the need for the development and implementation of integrated coastal and marine area management plans to deal with issues related to the coastal marine environment. It requested that UN organizations contribute to public education on coral reefs and other marine ecosystems, and urged action in launching local or national coral reef initiatives. States should take measures to address the environmental effects of shipping and continue relevant national and regional reviews of the need to decrease degradation of the marine environment.

While the Commission welcomed the 1995 Agreement relating to the Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks, it expressed concern over their continuing over-exploitation and depletion. It called for urgent corrective action to rebuild those stocks and ensure their sustainable use in the future. Under another proposal, the Council would recommend that the General Assembly ask the UN Environment Programme to establish a clearing-house, as recommended in Agenda 21, to protect the marine environment from land-based activities. The Commission also stressed the important role of the private sector in investment for sustainable development in small islands, particularly in the infrastructure and tourism sectors.

The rapid growth of the transportation sector and associated high-levels of urban air pollution were matters for concern, according to the Commission, which urged Governments that had not yet done so to join the 1992 UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.

Stressing the importance of a sound scientific and socio-economic base of knowledge on which appropriate responses to atmospheric pollution could be formulated, the Commission encouraged national participation in and support for international programmes of relevant scientific, technical and socio-economic research, monitoring and assessment. Governments were encouraged to address the growing problem of transboundary air pollution and, in particular, risks caused by persistent organic pollutants.

Consumer lifestyles

Industrialized countries should take the lead in demonstrating that resource-efficient, low-pollution consumption and production patterns were feasible, desirable and essential for progress, the Commission said, in reaffirming that the major cause of continued degradation of the global environment was unsustainable patterns. Changes in consumer lifestyles, particularly in industrialized countries, were necessary.

No available evidence suggested that environmental policy had "a significant detrimental impact on competitiveness", the Commission noted, stressing that it would be inappropriate to relax environmental laws in order to encourage foreign direct investment or promote exports. It called on Governments to ensure coordination between trade and environmental officials at the national level, and to take steps at the national and international levels "to ensure the mutual supportiveness of trade and environmental policies in support of sustainable development".

In recognizing that new and efficient technologies would be essential to increase the capabilities of countries, particularly developing ones, to achieve sustainable development, sustain the world's economy, protect the environment and alleviate poverty, the Commission encouraged Governments, the private sector and industry to promote technology transfer to developing countries on favourable terms.

The Commission stressed the need to keep capacity-building as one of the central objectives of programmes in developing countries. Since the general problem of poverty in those countries, particularly the least developed, was related to political, economic and social marginalization, all efforts to eradicate absolute poverty and reduce overall poverty within the context of sustainable development must be accompanied by mechanisms that would effectively address those issues. The Commission suggested that its future work focus attention on the interlinkages between poverty and environment.

The Commission also underlined the importance of full, equal participation by women in all aspects of sustainable development planning and programmes. It urged Governments, the UN system and non-governmental organizations to "mainstream" a gender perspective as an essential step in developing and monitoring sustainable development policies.

The Commission, recognizing that the primary responsibility for integrating environment and development in decision-making lay with national Governments, called on them to review national legislation in light of implementing sustainable development-related international conventions and legal instruments.

—Nancy Seufert-Barr

UN Conference on energy for twenty-first century proposed

Concluding its second session (12-23 February, New York), which focused on energy and sustainable development, the Committee on New and Renewable Sources of Energy approved a draft decision calling for the Economic and Social Council to invite UN Members to convene in the year 2001 a UN conference on energy for the twenty-first century. The conference, which would take place on the twentieth anniversary of the UN Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, would seek to mobilize world opinion on energy and sustainable development.

Other action of the Committee focused on four subjects: the development of energy resources in developing countries; progress and policies in the development and use of renewable sources of energy, with emphasis on biomass; efficient use of energy and materials; and the relationship between energy and protection of the atmosphere.

The Committee also called for the development and implementation of new and sustainable energy strategies. It urged international financial organizations to dedicate a larger proportion of their funds to research and development, aimed at energy and materials efficiency and renewable energy development.

Since the basis of world energy supply would continue to be oil, gas and coal, the Committee said there was a need for greater partnership between Governments, the private sector, international organizations and energy users for sustainable use of those resources. It also noted that while world energy supplies remained stable, more than 2 billion people in developing countries had little access to commercial energy resources, a situation which impeded their social and economic development. However, further development of the world energy system should not endanger the quality of life of present and future generations nor exceed the carrying capacity of the ecosystem. At the same time, adequate energy supplies were urgently needed in developing countries and were essential for sustainable development in the industrialized world and transitional economies.

After Beijing: Emphasis on poverty eradication

A "gender perspective" should be integrated by Governments and the private sector into policies and programmes dealing with poverty, child and dependent care, and the media, according to conclusions reached by the Commission on the Status of Women, meeting for the first time since the landmark 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing. Women's concerns, it stressed, had to be "mainstreamed" in order to help eliminate poverty, manage the impact of economic and social changes on families, and counter sexism and violence in the global media.

The Commission, capping its fortieth session (New York, 11-22 March) by adopting 17 resolutions, decisions, and "agreed conclusions", also recommended that the Economic and Social Council adopt a multi-year work programme for the Commission that would enable it to review, through the end of the century, the 12 critical areas of concern identified in the Beijing Platform for Action as the main obstacles to women's advancement. Those are: poverty; education; health; violence; armed conflict; economy; decision-making; institutional mechanisms; human rights; media; environment; and the girl child.

Established in 1946 as a subsidiary body of the Economic and Social Council, the 45-member Commission is the main inter-governmental body created by the UN to prepare recommendations and formulate policies on gender issues, monitor the status of women and promote their equality and rights. In 1995, the Fourth World Conference also assigned the Commission a central role within the UN system for monitoring the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action, and asked it to review the critical areas of concern and integrate follow-up to the Conference into its agenda.

While women had come a long way, they still had some distance to cover before all their goals were attained, the Secretary-General's Special Adviser on gender issues, Assistant Secretary-General Rosario Green, told the opening session. The Commission's efforts had to continue the work begun in Beijing so that women and men could address the next millennium's problems on the basis of equality, she emphasized.

> "Commission on the Status of Women holds first follow-up session to Beijing Conference"

The partnership of Governments, civil society and the UN, which had helped lead to the Beijing Conference, should now be built upon to press for further progress, Ms. Green declared.

UN Photo 191746/Evan Schneider

The Secretary-General designated Assistant Secretary-General Rosario Green as his Senior Adviser on gender issues.

The "first partners" were Governments, on which the implementation of some decisions reached by the Commission would rest. Struggle at the national level should push ahead to ensure that Governments kept their commitments made at the Conference. Women's participation at all levels of decision-making would help secure the mainstreaming of women's issues, she stressed. (Ms. Green was designated Senior Adviser on 28 December 1995, to help the Secretary-General achieve the effective integration of gender perspective into UN policies and programmes.)

Angela King, Director of the UN Division for the Advancement of Women, at the opening meeting stressed that the Commission's entire agenda in the coming years should focus on the follow-up to the outcome of the Beijing Conference.

'Dialogues' tested

As part of an interactive approach that it hoped would lead to better implementation of recommendations made at Beijing, the Commission formed three expert panels to look into poverty, media, and child and dependent care. A dialogue format, in keeping with a general trend within the Council to eschew prepared statements that had previously characterized debates, gave Governments, the UN system, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and media representatives an opportunity to discuss practical issues relating to the Platform's implementation. Their findings were adopted as resolutions or "agreed conclusions".

Women and poverty

The Commission placed particular emphasis on how poverty affected women, stressing in the interactive debate the coordination of gender-based approaches to poverty eradication. A broad and integrated approach to tackling poverty was needed that went

beyond the provision of resources and addressed such areas as reproductive health, violence, jobs and gender discrimination, the Commission asserted. Structural adjustment policies continued to have a negative impact on women.

UNICEF Photo/Jeremy Horner

A woman stands inside a formerly abandoned building where she lives, in Managua, Nicaragua.

In another resolution, the Commission stressed that women's empowerment and autonomy were essential for eradicating poverty, and their full and equal participation in decision-making at all levels should be an integral part of that process.

Legislative and administrative reforms must be undertaken to give women the right to inheritance, land ownership, credit and natural resources and technology. Their employment and self-employment should be promoted, and they should be given social and economic protection during unemployment, ill health, maternity, child-bearing, widowhood, disability and old age, the Commission urged.

Women and the media

In the dialogue on women and the media, experts agreed that the media had the power to shape the collective imagination. The globalization and concentration of media ownership had exacerbated existing female stereotyping, and the only way to counteract negative images of women in the media, some argued, was to increase women's involvement at all levels of communications.

A key question considered by the panel was whether the mass media provided an accurate account of the multiple roles of women in society. In a report to the Commission on the elimination of stereotyping in the mass media *(E/CN.6/1996/4)*, Mr. Boutros-Ghali noted that "an analysis of sex roles and stereotypes indicates that women have been excluded or silenced in many media forms". The representation in the media of violence against women, particularly sexual violence, had increased tremendously in the past years, he said. Television deregulation, combined with transborder satellite channels, had brought with it a tenfold increase in televised pornography in Europe over the last decade.

"Despite increased attention to the fair portrayal of women in the media, there are not many success stories to report", the Secretary-General stated. While some steps had been taken to combat stereotyping, there had also been a significant backlash against those efforts. In the former socialist countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the portrayal of women had gone from one extreme to the other, he pointed out. Previous images of political and working women had been supplanted by such images as the fashion model or beauty queen.

The Commission called for strengthening the role of women in global communications. In adopting agreed conclusion 1996/2, it declared that "self-regulatory mechanisms" by the media should be encouraged, as should other forms of self-regulation, in order to eliminate "gender-biased programming" and encourage non-stereotypical images of women. Media organizations should be encouraged to adopt voluntary "professional guidelines and codes of conduct", which should remain "consistent with freedom of expression".

Considering that an "enabling environment" needed to be created for women's media, the Commission also urged networks to strengthen their commitments to gender equality, and recommended that Governments review existing media policies and integrate a gender perspective into them.

Child and dependent care

Child and dependent care, including the sharing of work and family responsibility by men and women, was the subject of another panel, which concluded that since women and men were both responsible for families, Governments should promote greater participation by men in domestic work and child care. The social and economic importance of unremunerated work should also be recognized.

UNICEF Photo/Sean Sprague

Governments should promote greater participation by men in child care.

The Commission also urged that legal reforms must be carried out to prohibit gender discrimination in employment, promote maternity and parental leave, and enable women and men to reconcile their family and professional lives through the introduction of "flexitime".

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, in a report on child and dependent care *(E/CN.6/1996/5)*, pointed to evidence that despite the fact that women's income was becoming increasingly necessary, there had been no corresponding reduction in their domestic responsibilities. Women accounted for a third of the global labour force, and estimates had women making up half the labour force in most countries by the year 2000. During the last several decades, he noted, women's share of the labour force had increased in almost all regions, while that of men had fallen.

Among the reasons cited for the rising proportion of female-headed households were the dissolution of marriages, migration and non-marital child-bearing, as well as the effects of drug and alcohol use by males. In countries ravaged by acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), caring for the rapidly growing number of children orphaned because of the epidemic had largely been left to women, whose family support network might already have been depleted by the disease. Some studies also suggested that men's unwillingness to marry or assume family responsibility, or their readiness to leave the household, was a result of their inability to support a family.

"Women's and men's use of time is different and unequal", the report stated. In both developed and developing countries, women—whether mothers or not—generally worked much longer than men. Women's increased participation in the work force had an impact on children, especially girls, and on relationships within the family, especially with men. "The double burden of working women could be a principal cause for their predominance in low status and low paid employment and often precarious working conditions, offering them little income, job security and prospects for advancement", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said.

Panel experts felt that traditional attitudes towards family responsibilities could be changed only when women's double burden of work at home and outside was recognized. Women, they stressed, made more sacrifices for the family and much of their domestic work went unpaid, but men did not make commensurate efforts in the home.

Draft optional protocol

The Commission also agreed to pursue further discussions of a possible draft optional protocol to the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). At its previous session, the Commission had recommended that the Economic and Social Council begin work on a draft that would introduce a right to petition or individual complaints procedures. The Women's Conference had asked Governments to support the initiative.

Although Mr. Boutros-Ghali reported *(E/CN.6/1996/CRP.3)* overwhelming support for the initiative, he also stressed that some States had voiced caution regarding the relationship between an optional protocol to CEDAW and complaints procedures already found in other human rights treaties.

The Commission asked the Secretary-General to invite Governments, NGOs and inter-governmental organizations to submit additional views on a draft optional protocol, and for him to submit a comprehensive report to the Commission's 1997 session. It also requested the Council to renew the mandate of the working group on the draft's elaboration.

Migrant workers, other measures

Acting on the plight of woman migrant workers, the Commission called on the UN Centre for Human Rights in Geneva to set up a mechanism that would help such workers assert their rights. It also called on countries to explore measures to prevent the victimization of women migrant workers by sexual traffickers and to adopt and implement legislation to eliminate violence against women.

If approved by the Council, a draft resolution would have the Commission consider, at its next session, education and training, women and the economy, women in power and decision-making, and women and the environment. It would also authorize the Commission to assist the Council "in monitoring, reviewing and appraising progress achieved and problems encountered" in implementing the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action.

Buoyed by the success of the dialogue format, the Commission also declared that its effectiveness and efficiency could be improved "through innovative methods of work, including inviting experts to participate in the substantive debate on selected issues". Experts would be selected from fields addressed under the critical areas of concern. The dialogues, it decided, should yield "action-oriented agreed conclusions", with policy recommendations and identified coordination issues, that would be transmitted to the Council.

Among other actions, the Commission:

- Strongly urged parties to armed conflicts to take measures to protect women and children, in particular, to immediately release those taken hostage or imprisoned.
- Emphasized the need for the UN system to include gender-based human rights violations in their activities and to ensure that the equal status and the human rights of women and the girl child were integrated into the mainstream of system-wide activities.
- Called for measures to address the root factors that encourage trafficking in women and girls for prostitution, forced marriages and forced labour, and for Governments to ratify and enforce international conventions against slavery and trafficking in persons.
- Submitted a draft resolution to the Council that would demand that Israel comply with international human rights norms to protect the rights of Palestinian women and their families (adopted 36 in favour, to 1 against (United States), with 7 abstentions). ■

1998 special session on drugs recommended

Upsurge in abuse of stimulants

A special session of the General Assembly, in 1998, on new strategies to combat the illicit production, sale, traffic, distribution and demand of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances has been recommended by the thirty-ninth session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (Vienna, 16-25 April). That will also be the subject of the high-level segment of the Economic and Social Council's upcoming 1996 session.

Under the Commission's proposal, the three-day special session would propose new strategies and measures to address the problem of illicit drugs, including measures to increase international cooperation in the application of drug control laws, reduce the illicit demand for drugs, prevent money laundering, and strengthen the fight against drug-related organized crime and the illicit arms trade.

Calling the decision "particularly important", Executive Director Giorgio Giacomelli of the UN Drug Control Programme (UNDCP), in closing remarks to the Commission, said that "the consensus which had been established would provide a very good basis for the Programme to begin planning and preparing for that session, so that it would serve as another milestone in international cooperation in combating the drug threat".

During its eight-day session, the Commission adopted a total of 16 texts relating to such areas as the abuse of synthetic drugs, demand reduction, drug-related crime, ensuring supplies of opiates for medical and scientific purposes, preventive measures aimed at youth, and anti-money laundering measures.

The 53-member Commission, a subsidiary body of the Economic and Social Council, is the UN system's main policy-making organ for international drug control.

Synthetic drugs

Voicing "deep concern" at the economic and social consequences of a rapid global upsurge in the trafficking and use of amphetamine-type stimulants, the Commission, in another measure, called for tighter controls on chemicals used in the manufacture of synthetic drugs. A draft resolution, for adoption by the Economic and Social Council, would urge government regulation and close monitoring of the import and export of the "precursor" chemicals used in the production of so-called "designer drugs" such as "ecstasy", as well as of a number of other stimulants.

The report of the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) for 1995, released on 28 February, stated that the diversion of precursors from licit channels into the illicit production of drugs "is, almost exclusively, the source of the chemicals required for such illicit manufacture".

The Commission also recommended that the Council urge States to establish effective control over psychotropic substances, including pharmaceutical products that were likely to be abused. Under the text, the Council would call for measures to prevent shipments of such substances in excess of the annual domestic requirements reported to the INCB. (The 13-member Board is the independent and quasi-judicial control organ for the implementation of UN drug conventions.)

Money laundering

States were also urged to prohibit banks and other financial institutions from offering accounts identified only by number, anonymous accounts or accounts in obviously false names. Money-laundering countermeasures should be broadened to include the transit, conversion or other disposition of illegal proceeds from all serious crime.

According to another text, States should strengthen, both regionally and internationally, joint strategies to control the various forms of crime connected with illicit trafficking, by adopting and intensifying the technique of "controlled delivery". They were also asked to examine the role of social factors as a significant cause of drug-related crime among young people in urban areas, and determine what action was needed to reintegrate into the community young people threatened by drug abuse.

A number of scientific and legal strategies were recommended to fight illicit drugs. The UNDCP Executive Director was asked to develop standard protocols and methods for the "profiling/signature" of key narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.

The Commission requested donor countries and the UNDCP to provide technical assistance in the development of special programmes for transit States in subregions affected by drug trafficking, and to support those countries' efforts to reduce and eliminate the illicit drug traffic through their territories.

Supply and demand

In the face of the worsening drug abuse situation, great importance was attached to tackling the problem of demand for illicit drugs, and the Commission invited member States to draw up national plans on demand reduction and consider creating a better understanding of the consequences of drug abuse, especially in the workplace. States were also invited to strengthen the control of drug abuse among youth—the group most at risk—including the establishment of national committees on "Sport against Drugs". In a related text, UNDCP was asked to assist States in developing and carrying out national drug control plans.

The Commission also recommended that the national authorities of exporting countries conclude standing agreements with bona fide suppliers of humanitarian aid, specifying operational procedures to ensure the proper handling of controlled drugs. ■

Sierra Leone: Presidential inauguration

The newly-elected President of Sierra Leone, Ahmed Tejan Kabba, was inaugurated in Freetown on 29 March. In his inaugural address, the President said he appreciated the efforts made by the UN in support of the process of democratization and peace in his country.

The Council on 15 February had welcomed the promise of the Sierra Leone Government to hold the elections as scheduled and cautioned all groups and individuals not to try to disrupt the elections through violence or intimidation.

Elections had been held in two rounds: on 26 and 27 February, and the run-off on 15 March. Both the UN Secretary-General and the Security Council congratulated the people of Sierra Leone on the courage and determination they had shown in successfully completing the elections, despite difficulties and disruptions.

The Council, in a 19 March presidential statement, also stressed the importance it attached to a peaceful transition to civilian rule. It called for redoubled efforts to end the fighting in the country and asked the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) to maintain the cease-fire and enter into a full dialogue for peace, without any conditions.

At a meeting in Yamoussoukro, Cote D'Ivoire, between Brigadier-General Julius Maada Bio, Chairman of the National Provisional Ruling Council, and RUF leader Foday Sankoh, it had been decided to extend the current cease-fire. Mr. Sankoh had also agreed to continue the dialogue with the incoming administration of President Kabba. The Secretary-General's Special Envoy in Sierra Leone, Berhanu Dinka, had acted as facilitator during the talks.

On 19 March, the UN appealed for $57 million to address the humanitarian needs that had resulted from five years of civil conflict in Sierra Leone. Approximately 2.1 million people had abandoned their homes; of those, 1.6 million were internally displaced and nearly 370,000 had sought refuge in neighbouring countries.

Peace-keeping: New procedures adopted

A new set of procedures aimed at improving consultations with troop-contributing countries was outlined by the Security Council on 28 March.

In a statement by Council President Legwaila J. Legwaila of Botswana, it specified that meetings would be held: "as a matter of course" between its members, troop contributors and the Secretariat for the purpose of consultations and the exchange of information and views; "as soon as practicable and in good time before the Council takes decisions on the extension or termination of, or significant changes in, the mandate of a particular peace-keeping operation"; and, in establishing a new operation, with any prospective troop contributors that had been approached by the Secretariat and were willing to contribute to the operation, unless it proved to be impracticable. In addition, ad hoc meetings might be convened in the event of "unforeseen developments" in an operation. The Council President, who would chair all meetings with troop contributors, would report their views to the Council during informal consultations.

The Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations, in a report on its 1996 session (1-26 April, New York), urged the UN Secretariat to continue to improve the Organization's ability to deploy peace-keeping operations quickly and further develop the system of stand-by arrangements. The Special Committee also recommended, among other things, that Member States be invited to consider participating in various aspects of those arrangements, such as headquarters support, communications personnel and logistics. It requested that the Secretariat keep Member States informed with regard to the development and composition of a rapidly deployable headquarters team.

The Secretary-General and the competent bodies of the General Assembly were urged to take steps to "correct the growing imbalance" within the Department of Peace-keeping Operations between posts financed by the UN and the number of military officers on loan. UN financing should be provided for posts presently occupied by officers on loan, and recruitment for those posts should be conducted in accordance with established procedures and the UN Charter, the report said.

The 34-member Special Committee also cleared the way for a substantial expansion of its membership. It decided that the 109 Member States that were past or present personnel contributors to UN peace-keeping operations, along with any other Member States which had been observers at its 1996 session, could become members at the 1997 session, upon request in writing to the Chairman.

While peace-keeping was "one of the key instruments" available to the UN to resolve conflicts and maintain international peace and security, it was "not a preferred method of containing conflicts", the report stated. "Every effort should be made to avoid the need for new peace-keeping operations, and to achieve the pacific settlement of disputes by the parties concerned through such means as negotiation, mediation and resort to regional agencies or arrangements", the Special Committee stressed.

Public administration: Assembly encourages reform

The General Assembly invited Governments to strengthen their public administrative and financial management capacities, and to encourage the decentralization of public institutions, where appropriate, at its resumed session, held from 15 to 19 April in New York. It also asked the UN to develop strategies, at the request of interested countries, for the rebuilding of public administration in post-conflict situations. It invited the international community to consider providing adequate resources to assist national efforts in enhancing public administration in developing countries and economies in transition. It further asked the UN to help facilitate the exchange of informa[illegible] and promote training and research at all levels, and to focus on [illegible]engthening government capacity for policy development, financial management and improving the performance of the public sector.

During the one-week session, speakers from a wide range

of economic and geographic backgrounds shared their experiences in reforming governmental structures to make them more responsive to the needs of the people. In general, public administration was one of the main means through which Governments could respond to the wishes of their people, they said. However, the Governments' role was now being redefined, in view of the growing role of the private sector. Public administration had to be based on the rule of law and democracy, with transparency and accountability.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 15 April said that in the 1990s all nations, irrespective of their level of economic advancement or public development, were having to rethink critical issues of governance; many were having to reassess fundamental aspects of the relationship between Government and society itself. Improving public administration systems had rightly been a special priority for the UN, he added. Member States had sought and received UN assistance for a wide range of activities intended to strengthen and enhance public administration. In many sectors, only the UN could demonstrate both the impartiality and the expertise necessary to help Member States achieve results.

Towards Habitat II

Preparations continued for the UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), scheduled to be held in Istanbul, Turkey, from 3 to 14 June. Among the parallel activities will be a series of thematic dialogues for the twenty-first century, which will bring together eminent thinkers, public personalities, business leaders and other professionals to discuss and exchange ideas on trends for the future of human settlements. The dialogues on subjects such as *"How Cities Will Look in the 21st Century"*, *"Water for Thirsty Cities"*, and *"The Future of Urban Employment"* are designed to capture attention and raise awareness on crucial issues that will affect how people will live on an urbanized planet.

A high-level segment, to be held from 12 to 14 June, is to provide a forum for world leaders to pledge actions to make cities, towns and villages healthy, safe and sustainable.

Another special aspect of Habitat II will be the active participation of local governments, the private sector, community organizations and the academic community. Partnerships among those groups are vital in finding solutions to many urban problems. Mayors from around the world are expected to attend and provide valuable input concerning the growing responsibilities of municipalities in an era of decentralized government and diminished resources.

Destruction of smallpox virus by 1999

The Executive Board of the World Health Organization (WHO) on 24 January recommended the destruction of remaining stocks of the smallpox (variola) virus by June 1999. The stocks are kept by WHO at the Centres for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, Georgia, and at the Russian State Research Centre of Virology and Biotechnology, in Koltsovo, Novosibirsk Region. The Board also recommended that 500,000 doses of smallpox vaccine and the seed virus (vaccinia virus strain Lister Elstree) be maintained.

The last known natural case of smallpox was detected in Somalia in 1977. In 1980, it became the first disease to be eradicated from the globe. Less than 30 years ago, it had been endemic in 31 countries, striking 10-15 million people and killing nearly 2 million annually. The eradication effort cost approximately $313 million over 10 years, an investment that has paid back many times over through savings on vaccines and medical care and the suspension of international surveillance activities.

WHO is now hoping to make poliomyelitis the second disease to be completely eradicated. Strategies such as special vaccination campaigns have already led to the elimination of the disease in the Americas. The last case of wild polio virus in that region was found in Peru in 1991. Since 1988, when WHO member States collectively undertook to eradicate the disease, the number of polio cases reported worldwide has dropped by 80 per cent. However, up to 100,000 estimated new cases of polio still occur each year in 67 polio endemic countries, primarily in Asia and Africa. "The eradication of polio is within our grasp. We owe it to future generations not to let it slip away", said WHO Director General Hitoshi Nakajima.

Aircraft downing deplored

The shooting down on 24 February by the Cuban air force of two civil aircraft, which "apparently has resulted in the death of four persons", was strongly deplored by the Security Council. Through a 27 February statement by its President, Madeleine K. Albright of the United States, the Council also requested that the International Civil Aviation Organization "investigate this incident in its entirety" and called on the Governments concerned to "cooperate fully with this investigation".

Pelindaba Treaty

The Security Council on 12 April, in noting with "deep satisfaction" the signature of the African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty (Treaty of Pelindaba) on 11 April in Cairo, said the historic event marked a successful formalization of the commitment undertaken 32 years ago, when the leaders of Africa adopted the pioneering resolution which declared Africa a denuclearized zone. In a statement by its President, Juan Somavia of Chile, the Council also said that the signing of the Treaty by more than 40 African countries, as well the signing of its relevant protocols by France, the United Kingdom and the United States, were "important steps" towards the Treaty's effective implementation and early ratification with a view to its rapid entry into force. Such regional efforts should be encouraged, and the Council stood "ready to support efforts on the international and regional level aimed at achieving the universality of the nuclear non-proliferation regime".

"Pelindaba" is the name of the area near Pretoria where the joint UN/Organization of African Unity (OAU) Group of Experts finalized the draft of the Treaty on 2 June 1995. The text was then adopted at the OAU summit session held from 26 to 28 June in Addis Ababa.

COMING UP

A preview of some important UN conferences and events

July-September 1996

New York

29 July-2 August	States Parties to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
12-30 August	Preparatory Committee on the Establishment of an International Criminal Court, 2nd session
3-13 September	Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for the Elaboration of an International Convention to Combat Desertification in Those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, particularly in Africa, 9th session
12 September	States Parties to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 16th meeting
17 September	Opening of the fifty-first session of the General Assembly

Geneva

1-26 July and **16 Sept.-11 Oct.**	Conference on Disarmament—Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear-Test Ban, inter-sessional meetings
8-26 July	Human Rights Committee, 57th session
29 July-13 Sept.	Conference on Disarmament, third part
5-23 August	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 49th session
12-23 August	UN Group of Experts on Geographical Names, 18th session
26-30 August	Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories
23 Sept.-11 Oct.	Committee on the Rights of the Child, 13th session

Vienna

9-12 and **23 Sept.**	IAEA—Board of Governors
16-20 September	IAEA—General Conference

Other locations

5-16 August	International Seabed Authority—Assembly, second part, Kingston
23 Sept.-11 October	ICAO—Committee, 149th session, Montreal
September/October	UPU—Council of Administration, Berne

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Recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world.

—from the Preamble to the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights

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Former Yugoslavia
Disarmament
Commission on Crime Prevention
Commission for Social Development

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